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PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF CORIOLANUS, CAESAR, BRUTUS, AND ANTONIUS

IN NORTH'S TRANSLATION

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1906

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK, TORONTO
MELBOURNE AND BOMBAY

PREFACE

THIS volume is designed first as an introduction to the complete *Lives* of Plutarch in Sir Thomas North's splendid version, and secondly as an attempt to provide the student with a critical edition of the sources of Shakespeare's three Roman plays. Shakespeare's indebtedness to North is discussed in every modern edition of these plays, but no editor of North hitherto has catered directly for the Shakespearean student, by supplying lineal references from the prose to the verse text.

The system adopted in the Notes is that mere references are given where Shakespeare appears to have borrowed subject-matter only, and full quotations where he appears to have followed North's actual language. An Index is appended, containing a list of the references to the plays, arranged in order under Act and Scene. All references are to the *Oxford Shakespeare*, edited by Mr. W. J. Craig.

In the Text the spelling has been modernized throughout, subject to the preservation of all interesting or obsolete forms. The punctuation also has been revised and corrected for the sake of clearness, though the characteristic colon is preserved to the exclusion of the modern semi-colon. The reasons for this tampering with the text are two-fold. First, it is a frank concession to the reader's convenience. Black letter, long s's, and sixteenth century spelling attract the bibliophile, but too often hamper and annoy the student. Secondly, modernization helps to bring author and reader nearer together. Every book that is worth reading from other than antiquarian motives makes a truer appeal to literary taste when it is dressed in modern guise; and it may be remembered that Charles Lamb's perfect instinct demanded an old edition of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* but preferred a modern *Shakespeare*.

The account of Sir T. North's life in the Introduction (§ II) owes much to the invaluable *Dictionary of National Biography*, supplemented as regards his problematical connexion with Peterhouse by the kindness of Dr. T. A. Walker, Fellow of that College. My acknowledgements are due also

to many previous writers on North's *Plutarch*, especially to Mr. George Wyndham, to the late Archbishop Trench, and to Professor W. W. Skeat. But, above all, my warmest thanks are rendered to Professor Walter Raleigh and to Dr. Henry Bradley, who have read the proofs of the Introduction and the Notes respectively.

R. H. C.

60 Romford Road, E.
May 23, 1906.

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INTRODUCTION

I. General.

The process whereby the *Lives* of Plutarch became accessible to English readers is one of the most attractive of literary stories. Rescued from oblivion by the eager hands of the pioneers of the Renaissance, the *Parallel Lives* of the old philosopher of Chaeronea were quickly circulated in the fifteenth century among men of culture in Latin versions. The earliest printed edition known is a Latin translation published at Rome in 1470. This, or a later edition in the same language, came into the hands of a famous French ecclesiastic, Jacques Amyot, about the middle of the sixteenth century, and from it he made a French translation which he published in the year 1559. The *Lives*, as interpreted by Amyot, won ready acceptance among French readers, and soon passed into England to form the basis of the famous English version of Sir Thomas North, part of which is reproduced in this volume. North's work is thus removed from the original Greek by no less than three separate stages. But, astonishing as it may seem, these successive processes have not impaired the vitality, or dulled the brilliance, of the original work. The soul of the book remains unaltered by its various transmigrations.

It is some matter for regret, perhaps, that the *Lives* are so seldom read in the original. The tendency of school *curricula* to exclude all authors who are outside the strictly classic pale has obvious advantages on the side of syntactical and linguistic training. On the other hand, it militates against anything like a comprehensive view of literature, ignoring, as it does of necessity, so much that is of real interest and importance in Greek and Roman literature. Moreover, the qualities of Plutarch's work appeal in a special degree to the modern reader. His easy, chatty style,

his inexhaustible fund of good stories, above all his constant revelations of a kindly and sympathetic personality, win their way direct to the hearts of his readers. In an age when the teacher of history strives to vitalize his narrative by an appeal to the learner's innate faculty for hero-worship, it is natural to suggest a return to the pages of the greatest painter of historical portraits that the world has yet seen. The secret of his success is revealed in his own account of the vivid impression made upon him by his work :—'When I first began to write these lives, my intent was to profit other: but, since continuing and going on, I have much profited myself by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glass, to frame and fashion my life to the mould and pattern of these virtuous noble men. For, running over their manners in this sort, and seeking also to describe their lives, methinks I am still conversant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me one after another. . . . By continual reading of ancient histories and gathering these lives together, which now I leave before you, and by keeping always in mind the acts of the most noble, virtuous, and best given men of former age and worthy memory, I do teach and prepare myself to shake off and banish from me all lewd and dishonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keep do acquaint me with some unhappy or ungracious touch.' (*Life of Paulus Aemilius.*)

Plutarch's veracity has been impugned by many, but his marvellous insight into character is universally acknowledged. The artist in him predominates over the historian. His motto was Aristotle's *προαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ ἀδύνατα εἰκότα μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὰ ἀπίθανα*, and he did not care greatly whether an incident were true or false provided that it harmonized with his subject. He confesses as much in his *Life of Solon*, with a contemptuous side glance at the mere chronicler, à propos of a meeting between Solon and Croesus :—'I know there are that by distance of time will prove it but a fable and devised of pleasure: but for my part I will not reject nor condemn so famous an history, received and approved by so many grave testimonies. Moreover, it is very agreeable to Solon's manners and nature, and also not unlike to his wisdom and magnanimity: although in

all points it agreeth not with certain tales (which they call chronicles) where they have busily noted the order and course of times, which even to this day many have curiously sought to correct, and could never yet discuss it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the same.'

Primarily, then, Plutarch is an artist, and only secondarily an historian, and in his capacity of artist he is in the very first rank of story-tellers, worthy to be ranged with Boccaccio and Chaucer. He was able to draw, especially for the later *Lives*, on a rich store of anecdotes, some of them supplied, as he tells us, by members of his own family. His grandfather, Lamprias, is responsible for a description of Antonius's cuisine (p. 187 *infra*); while a reminiscence of the distress caused in Greece by the wars of Antonius is due to his great-grandfather, Nicarchus. Again, he often avails himself of the licence of the essayist to introduce digressions. The finest example of this, in the present volume, is the brilliant disquisition on the problem of free-will and predestination (pp. 35–6), where this most difficult of all topics is handled with wonderful lucidity and simple force. This passage alone would be enough to justify to us the reputation that Plutarch had acquired in his own day as a philosopher.

The extant *Lives* consist of twenty-three books, each containing the histories of one Greek and one Roman. This arrangement must not be taken to imply that any close parallel exists between the characters thus paired, for the *Comparisons* (Συγκρίσεις), which are often far-fetched and illusory, are the work of a later and obviously inferior hand. It suited Plutarch's purpose to arrange his subjects according to nationality, for he wished to prove that Greece could produce a roll of great men worthy to be matched with the most famous Romans, however much her power and fame had diminished by his own day. He was content, therefore, to couple his characters on the slightest of common bases, whether of temperament, environment, or achievement. Thus Coriolanus and Alcibiades are associated as men driven by force of circumstances to war against their own countrymen, Caesar and Alexander as great generals and world-conquerors.

Plutarch was naturally more at his ease with Greek than with Roman history, for in the one case the materials lay ready to his hand, and in the other were acquired with difficulty owing to his short stay in Rome and his very slight knowledge of the Latin language. 'At Rome,' he tells us, 'I had no leisure to study and exercise the Latin tongue, as well for the great business I had then to do, as also to satisfy them that came to learn philosophy of me.' (*Life of Demosthenes.*) The 'great business' referred to was in all probability the collection of materials for the Roman Lives. Plutarch's work abounds in quotations from Greek authors, but only one Latin quotation, and that from Horace, is to be found in the whole of the *Lives*. He was probably compelled, therefore, to search out the histories of his Romans from the byways of Greek literature, and to supplement this by hearsay evidence picked up at Rome.

It is easy to imagine how popular must have been the lectures of this witty and good-natured man of the world, enriched as they were, doubtless, with a wealth of literary illustration and with a profusion of jests and anecdotes. But if the lectures have left behind them no visible fruit, their author's reputation is safe in the hands of readers of the *Lives*. The *Moralia* belong to a branch of literature which has lost its attraction for all save the classical specialist, but the *Lives* will always have a sure place in the range of the great classics, and that by reason of their own eternal human interest and intrinsic merit, quite apart from the fact that to them we owe, among other literary treasures, three of the greatest tragedies of Shakespeare.

II. Life of Sir Thomas North.

The few facts that are known concerning the life of Sir Thomas North may be briefly stated. He was the younger son of Edward, first Lord North, by Alice, daughter of Oliver Squyer, and was born probably at Kirtling, the family home, about the year 1535. Cooper (*Ath. Cant.*) supposed that he was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, but the fact has never been established. The Admission

Book of the college for the Tudor period is unfortunately missing, and the Buttery Books preserve surnames only. But, as his father was not only a member of the college, like others of the family, but also a benefactor, it is probable that Thomas, with other young noblemen of his day, resided there for a time without proceeding to a degree, or perhaps even matriculating. In 1557 he was entered at Lincoln's Inn, and in 1568 the freedom of Cambridge was bestowed upon him. Six years later we hear of him accompanying his famous elder brother Roger, afterwards Lord North, to France on a special diplomatic mission. At the time of the Armada he captained a volunteer band of three hundred men from the Isle of Ely. Throughout his life he appears to have been continually involved in pecuniary difficulties, which were only temporarily relieved by a legacy under his father's will in 1565. Thus in 1579 Leicester wrote to Burleigh desiring his favour for the *Plutarch*, and describing the translator as 'a very honest gentleman', who 'hath many good things in him which are drowned only by poverty'. About 1591, however, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; at that time, therefore, he must have been possessed of land to the value of at least £40 per annum—the statutory qualification for knighthood. This was probably the most prosperous period of his life, for in 1592, and again in 1597, he appears on the roll of Justices of the Peace for the county of Cambridgeshire. But by 1598 he was again in difficulties, which were partially mitigated by a grant of £20 from the corporation of Cambridge. Three years later the queen granted him a pension of £40 per annum 'in consideration of the good and faithful service done unto us'. The date of his death is not known, but he seems to have been alive in 1603, for the fifteen supplementary Lives added to the new edition of the *Plutarch*, published in that year, are prefaced by a dedication to the queen from his pen, in which he speaks gratefully of 'the princely bounty of your blessed hand comforting and supporting my poor old decaying life', and declares that he has himself translated these additional Lives. It is probable that North did not long survive his royal mistress.

He was twice married. First to Elizabeth, daughter of

Mr. Colville, and widow of Robert Rich, and secondly to Judith, daughter of Henry Vesey of Isleham, and widow of Robert Bridgwater. After his death she became the wife of John Courthope. By the first wife he had a son Edward, and a daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Thomas Stuteville of Brinkley in 1579. Cooper mentions another son Roger, whose name does not occur in the family records.

North's literary output is represented by three translations, the *Diall of Princes*, first published in 1557, the *Morall Philosophie of Doni*, published in 1570, and *Plutarch's Lives*, published in 1579. His versatility as a linguist is evidenced by the fact that the originals of these three works were respectively Spanish, Italian, and French; for, although the *Diall of Princes* purports to be translated from a French version of Guevara's *Libro Aureo*, it is nevertheless clear that North must have worked largely upon the Spanish text. The *Libro Aureo* is an expansion of a pretended adaptation by Guevara of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, which had already won signal popularity in England in the version of Lord Berners, whose translation of Froissart had reached its fifth edition when North's work appeared.

Some prominence has been given to the *Diall* of late on the supposition that it was the source of the famous Euphuism, which was brought to its perfection by John Lyly. Guevara's peculiar style is marked by parallelism of thought and phrase, by antithesis, and occasionally by similes drawn from natural or unnatural history, and North makes some attempt to preserve these characteristics, even adding that typically English ornament, alliteration. But these peculiarities are by no means conspicuous in the *Diall*, as they are in the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, and in *Euphues* itself, and, but for the subsequent development of Euphuism, they would probably never have been detected. But the problem is not without a fascination of its own, for it would be a happy example of the interdependence of literary genius, could it be proved that Lyly was aided by the first work of that brilliant translator whose last work inspired Shakespeare, who himself owed so much to Lyly, his forerunner in romantic comedy.

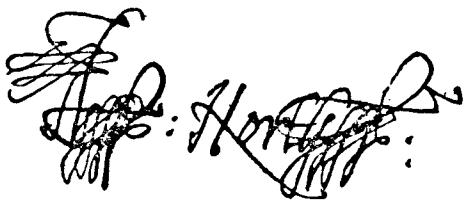
The *Morall Philosophie* is a work of less significance,

being a translation from the Italian Doni of a collection of oriental fables, but it forms a link in the long series of works from the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* down to Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, which evidence the power of the East to allure and fascinate the West.

North's last work, so far as we know, was the *Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*. The merits and characteristics of this translation are discussed in a later section of this introduction. It is convenient to investigate here, however, one problem connected with it, namely, whether North himself prepared for the press either the second or the third edition, published respectively in 1595 and 1603. A careful study of the four Lives here printed in the first three editions has convinced the writer that the 1595 text at all events bears no signs of revision by the translator, though he may have added the index which there appears for the first time. The differences between it and the first edition are so trifling as to carry conviction on this point. On the other hand, the 1603 edition contains a supplement of fifteen Lives which are definitely declared in the preface to have been translated by North himself; and there is no reason to doubt the statement. It is not clear, however, that he submitted the original text to revision. Here again the variations are for the most part insignificant, being confined largely to alterations of spelling, due doubtless to the shifting of the orthographic standard, such as it was. The most important change in the Lives under review is a correction of the obvious error, 'the highway going unto Appius' to 'the highway called Appius' way'—a change that may well have been due to an intelligent compositor. It is at least worthy of notice that, in the one case where North is known to have taken the trouble of revising an edition for the press, he stated the fact emphatically on the title-page. Thus the second edition of the *Diall of Princes*, published in 1568, is definitely asserted to be 'now newly revised and corrected by hym, refourmed of faultes escaped in the first edition'. It is only natural to suppose, therefore, that if he had taken the pains to revise the *Lives*, he would also have taken the credit for his labour.

In vol. 12497 of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, among the interesting collection made by Sir

Julius Caesar, there is a paper endorsed by Sir Julius—'S^r Tho. North his exceptions against the sute of Surveyor of the gagers [gaugers] of beer and ale. 9. Januar. 1591.' This paper, which is the only autograph of North's known, consists merely of a few notes on an excise suit of no particular interest, ending characteristically with a few words in Italian. But the handwriting is unusually bold, full of character and decision, though by no means easily decipherable. The signature with its curious reiteration of the letter 'h', alike in Christian and surname, is here reproduced.



III. The Translations of North and Amyot.

It was the fashion formerly to decry North's version of the *Lives* as inaccurate and untrustworthy, whereas the fact is, as Mr. George Wyndham pointed out, that it is in the main marvellously faithful to the original, especially when the various stages that intervened between the Greek and the English are borne in mind. A careful comparison with Plutarch's text of the four Lives printed in this volume reveals the fact that in hardly a dozen cases has North missed the point of a passage, while the minor alterations noticed are evidently due in most cases to the deliberate intention of the translator. Arithmetical discrepancies may be ignored in this connexion, as the inevitable result of frequent transcription, common to all ancient MSS. But, after all, the question of North's literal accuracy is only of secondary importance. Like all the greatest English translators of the classics, from King Alfred onwards, he made it his purpose, not to produce a slavish 'crib' of his original for the benefit of the indolent schoolboy, but to bring a great work within the comprehension of men of his

own day. Like every true scion of the Renaissance he turned to ancient writers in a spirit not of pedantry but of eager inquiry, to seek in them precept and example, guidance and inspiration, to meet the needs of his age. The contact of such a man in such an age with the fine material of the *Lives* produced necessarily a new Plutarch, new in style and temper, yet the same in substance.

North spared no pains to bring his narrative home to the minds and hearts of his readers. Thus he always rejected a technical term when a vivid paraphrase would give his meaning better. A modern translator, for example, would render Plutarch's μονομάχων ἀγῶνας by 'gladiatorial fights', or, in the phrase of the worthy brothers Langhorne, 'a show of gladiators'. Such renderings appear tame and lifeless beside the graphic picture drawn by North of 'the cruel fight of fencers at unrebated swords'. The priestly envoys, again, returning from their fruitless embassy to Coriolanus, are contemptuously dismissed as 'this goodly rabble of superstition and priests'. It would be easy to multiply instances of his power of vivid description, but no further testimony is needed than that of Shakespeare, who often deliberately refrained from any attempt to alter or improve upon North's language. Examples of this will be found in Coriolanus's great speech to Aufidius on their meeting at Antium, and in the poetical account of Cleopatra's voyage down the Cydnus. In one instance, the description of Cleopatra's death, it may almost be said that Shakespeare, through the exigencies of the drama, mars the wonderful simplicity of his original. It would have been impossible to improve on the quiet beauty of the prose passage, where every word is in its place, and there is not a superfluous syllable. 'Her death was very sudden. For those whom Caesar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and the other woman called Charmion half-dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra ware upon her head.

One of the soldiers, seeing her, angrily said unto her: "Is that well done, Charmion?" "Very well," said she again, "and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings." She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed.' But isolated quotations can give no adequate idea of the fluent splendour of North's language. The whole temper of the Elizabethan age, with all its poetry, its enthusiasm, its love of adventure, its eager hero-worship, is incarnate in his pages. So easy, and so full of life, moreover, is his prose style that it requires an effort on the reader's part to remember that it is a translation at all. Yet a comparison of it with the *Vies des Hommes Illustres* of Amyot shows that North rendered the French almost word for word. The part played by Amyot, then, was an important factor in the introduction of Plutarch to Shakespeare.

Jacques Amyot's long life lasted from 1513 to 1593, a stirring period in French history. He was Abbot of Bellozane only when he translated the *Lives*, but by the time North's version appeared he had risen to be Bishop of Auxerre and Great Almoner of Françe, as witness the title-page of the 1579 edition, printed in Section IX of this Introduction. In his old age he incurred the hostility of the Catholic League after the murder of the Duc de Guise, and two years before his death the powerful influence of the League deprived him of all his dignities. Practically all that has been said in praise of North's work will apply equally to Amyot's, and perhaps with greater justice from Amyot's greater claim to originality. Nor is his style inferior to North's, for French of the sixteenth century almost rivals Elizabethan English in splendour. And Amyot was, in the words of a French critic, 'un des créateurs de cette belle langue du XVI^e^ siècle, originale et naïve, souple et abondante, colorée et pittoresque'. Over against Shakespeare's unacknowledged debt to North must be set Montaigne's reiterations of his own debt to Amyot, and his tributes of unstinted praise. 'Je donne la palme,' he wrote, 'avecque raison, ce me semble, à Jacques Amyot sur tous nos escripvains françois.' Amyot's *Lives* kept the field in France for a century and a half, when it was superseded by the more commonplace version of Dacier, just as

North was in turn deposed by Dryden and his assistants, and later by the two Langhornes. But in modern times the supremacy of Amyot, no less than that of North, is being reasserted. The bulk of Amyot's literary work was concerned with Plutarch, for he turned the *Moralia* into French as well as the *Lives*, a task that North left in the worthy hands of Philemon Holland.

The popularity of Plutarch's *Lives* has by no means been confined to France and England, and it would be a lengthy task to compile a complete list of the translations made in the various countries of Europe. In Germany, Hieronymus Boner anticipated Amyot in 1541, and his translation was followed by that of Xylander and Löchinger in 1580. The list of Italian versions includes those of Sansovino (1564), Domenichi (1567), Pompei (1772), and Centofanni (1845). The best-known Spanish translation is that of Castro de Salinas in 1562. Adam Van Zuylen Van Nyevelt translated Amyot into Dutch in 1644. The above are all complete editions, but selections from the *Lives* have appeared in almost every European language, including Bohemian, Polish, Danish, and Icelandic. In France Dacier's version appeared in 1694, and Ricard's in 1798–1803. The list of English translations subsequent to North's comprises that known as Dryden's, which was published in 1683–6, the version of J. and W. Langhorne (1770), that of A. H. Clough (a revision of Dryden's translation) published in 1864, and that of Aubrey Stewart and George Long (1880–2).

Plutarch's *Lives* have in fact been translated almost as frequently as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and not the least remarkable fact about them is that they have attained far greater popularity in modern times in the form of translation than in the original, as was pointed out in an article attributed to Archbishop Trench in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1861. In this respect the *Lives* stand practically alone in the whole range of Greek and Roman literature.

IV. North and Shakespeare.

Among the many problems that beset the path of the student of Shakespeare not the least interesting is the origin

of his use of Plutarch's *Lives*. Various conjectures have been put forward in this connexion, but most of them have been already disposed of by the progress made of recent years in the methods of dating the plays. The critic of the early Victorian era first evolved his theory and then manipulated his dates to suit that theory. But subsequent research has necessitated the reversal of this convenient process, and it behoves the imaginative spirit to move warily. The discovery of Shakespeare's autograph in a copy of Florio's *Montaigne* of 1603 suggested to M. Philarète Chasles that it was Montaigne who introduced Shakespeare to Plutarch. The credit may possibly be due to Montaigne, but certainly not to the 1603 edition in question (which is to be seen at the British Museum), for we know that *Julius Caesar* was written not later than 1601. More wonderful still, a worthy Glaswegian, Mr. Allan Park Paton, proclaimed in 1871 the discovery of what he alleged to be Shakespeare's copy of North in the Greenock Library. The edition is that of 1603, and the supposition rested on the fact that the title-page bore the MS. legend 'W. S.', written in a hand which Mr. Paton proved to resemble one of the dramatist's reputed autographs. Unhappily it was pointed out, by Sir F. Madden, that the autograph in question was spurious, so Mr. Paton was forced to fall back on the general proposition that, out of the admittedly large number of individuals of the period owning the initials 'W. S.', there can have been few with the means to purchase, or with sufficient literary taste to desire, the famous *Lives*. His position was further strengthened by the fact that a number of passages in different Lives were marked, presumably by the great 'W. S.', and not by any of the other possessors of the book. Finally, the difficulty as to dates was disposed of by the assumption that Shakespeare wrote the Roman plays in the last four years of his life, when we know him to have been living in retirement at Stratford, with complete cessation from dramatic work. Those who care to pursue the thread of Mr. Paton's argument will find it set out in his *Notes on North's Plutarch*, published at Greenock in 1871.

There can, however, be little profit in conjecturing what may have led Shakespeare to study Plutarch. We know from the number of editions published of North's transla-

tion (seven within a century) that the book was extremely popular, and Shakespeare's connexion with the great patrons of literature would doubtless have ensured its coming into his hands. With regard to the question of chronology, however, the ascription of *Julius Caesar* to the year 1601 at latest, enables us confidently to reject all editions of North after that date. There remain, then, only those of 1579 and 1595.

The 1595 text has been selected for the present edition because it is *a priori* more likely to have been accessible to Shakespeare than the first edition, which was probably out of print by the time he came to London. Professor Leo selected the 1595 text for his admirable photo-lithograph of these four Lives, published in 1878, further supporting his choice by the observation that the word 'conduits', on p. 1, was so printed in the Folio of 1623, whereas the 1579 text of North has 'conducts'. This argument would be more weighty if Shakespeare could be proved to have had a hand in the preparation of the Folio. But, as it is clear that the form 'conduits' was by this time generally preferred to 'conducts', this subtle detail becomes of little value, especially in the circumstances under which the Folio was printed.

Again, most critics have assumed that Shakespeare could not have become acquainted with the *Lives* before the year 1600, on the ground that if he had known the work before he would have used it earlier. There is not much evidence either way, but on the whole it seems probable that Shakespeare's use of North did not follow immediately upon his introduction to his pages. The industry of Professor Skeat discovered two passages in earlier plays which may possibly have originated in North. In the *Merchant of Venice*, i. 1. 167, Portia is compared to 'Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia', while in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 75–80, the names of Hippolyta, Perigouna, Ægle, Ariadne, and Antiopa, all of which are to be found in the pages of Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, occur in quick succession. But it is true at the same time that Shakespeare could have ascertained the name and parentage of Brutus's wife elsewhere than in North, and the story of Theseus and his many loves was known to Elizabethans from more sources than one.

Thus the question must remain an open one. We know, at least, that Shakespeare's time as playwright and actor must have been fully occupied during his active career. We believe that on one occasion at any rate, and probably on more, he wrote plays to order. He wrote to satisfy a popular demand, and not to provide material for the student or the literary critic. The theory that he deliberately postponed his use of North till the completion of his great sequence of English historical plays is at least as plausible as the assumption that the *Lives* did not come within his ken till the time when he began to write *Julius Caesar*.

Of far greater interest for the general reader, however, than these more technical points, is the study of the methods employed by Shakespeare in his use of North's *Plutarch*.

The time has now gone by when it was considered an outrage on literary propriety even to hint at the dramatist's indebtedness to the biographer, and the student hails with thankfulness so unique an opportunity of analysing Shakespeare's methods of composition. Yet even now, from time to time, there echoes a fitful wail at the indelicacy of such treatment, as witness a letter in the *Times* Literary Supplement for Sept. 23, 1904, from the pen of the Poet Laureate. 'Though Shakespeare may have taken his plots and the names of his personages,' he says, 'from wherever he happened to find them, he could by no possibility have borrowed prose passages from any one, and made poetry of them by turning them into verse. Poetry is not made in that fashion. The white heat, the fine frenzy of the brain, in the moment of such composition, precludes so cold a procedure. . . . To suppose that the poet deliberately takes his material, his subject-matter, from others, and then transforms it into poetry by the aid of what Prospero calls his " so potent art ", is to commit the mistake so often made by critics with an insufficient amount of imagination.' Yet this is exactly what Shakespeare has done, and what Milton has done. And Mr. Alfred Austin's admirable thesis suggests only the comment that the critic has need of other qualities than that of mere imagination. The true criterion by which to test Shakespeare's relation to North is Milton's axiom that 'such borrowing, if it be not bettered by the

borrower, among good writers is accounted plagiary'. (*Eikonoklastes*, chap. 23.)

It is a matter of common knowledge that, like most of his brother dramatists, Shakespeare spared himself the pains of inventing his own plots. The theatrical audience of his day, it appears, had a predilection for well-known tales, and concerned itself more with the dramatic treatment of the plot than with the actual incidents on which it was based. In this respect the history of the Greek drama affords us a close parallel. The Greek tragedians seldom ventured to depart from the old legends, and Aristotle was probably considered a dangerous innovator when he suggested that a dramatist should be at liberty to invent his own plots (*Poet.* ix). As a rule, Shakespeare contented himself with using his source as a bare framework on which to build up the play; a method necessitated indeed by the crude nature of much of the work from which he borrowed his incidents. The English historical plays, for example, from *King John* to *Henry the Fifth*, are based upon the rough material of Holinshed and other contemporary chroniclers. To the facts as portrayed by them Shakespeare adhered with remarkable fidelity, for he preserved their very mistakes. But in no case did he extend his borrowing beyond the bare outline of incidents. Language, style, atmosphere, and delineation of character are all his own. But, when he came to study Plutarch's *Lives* for the purposes of his Roman plays, he recognized, it is clear, that he had there to deal with artistic work of high polish and refinement; it was necessary, then, for him only to transmute, not to create

In the earliest of the Roman plays, *Julius Caesar*, which must have preceded *Antony and Cleopatra* by about seven years, it is possible to detect something of a transitional stage in his method of handling his sources. The incidents are brilliantly woven together from the three lives of Caesar, Brutus, and Antonius, but the language is, in most cases, Shakespeare's own, and there is perhaps more freedom in the treatment of character than in the later plays. In these Shakespeare seems to have been content to rely almost entirely on Plutarch for his subject-matter, and on North for the language of the great speeches, thus giving himself free

play for the exercise of those powers of deep reflection and introspective thought which characterize his later style. More detailed treatment of the three plays in question, and of their relation to the *Lives*, is reserved for the three subsequent sections of this Introduction.

A word must be added on the subject of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*. The story of Timon, the misanthrope, is briefly told in the *Life of Antonius*, pp. 230–1, and it has been suggested that the play is based upon this passage. Some measure of probability is given by the fact that *Timon* is thought to have been written about the year 1608, while the *Life of Antonius* was still fresh in Shakespeare's mind. It is likely enough that this may have been the immediate cause of his choice of this subject, but the story of Timon is told at greater length and with more detail in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, a work which was admittedly part of Shakespeare's stock-in-trade, and the story had already been dramatized by an unknown playwright from the materials supplied by Painter and Lucian, before Shakespeare set to work upon it. On this crude play, probably, Shakespeare worked up his *Timon*, though he seems to have taken Timon's epitaph direct from North, for Painter's version of it is quite different:—

> My wretched catife dayes expired now and past:
> My carren corps intered here is fast in grounde:
> In waltring waues of swelling Sea by surges cast,
> My name if thou desire, the Gods thee doe confounde.

Other details common to the account given by Plutarch and the play are the story of the fig-tree and the elements of the characters of Apemantus and Alcibiades, who realizes in the drama Timon's prediction in Plutarch that he would one day 'do great mischief unto the Athenians'.

Plutarch's account of Timon, therefore, in the pages of North's translation is to be regarded rather as the occasion than as the actual source of *Timon of Athens*.

V. Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar'.

The date of this play is fixed with tolerable certainty at 1600 or 1601. It is not mentioned in the catalogue given

in Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598), but there is a clear reference to it in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, 1601.

> The many-headed multitude were drawne
> By Brutus' speech, that Caesar was ambitious;
> When eloquent Mark Antonie had showne
> His vertues, who but Brutus then was vicious?

This passage, therefore, provides the *terminus ad quem* for the play. The external evidence for the date is supported by the close relationship that exists between this play and *Hamlet*, no less than by the usual internal criteria of style and verse construction. The story of Julius Caesar is referred to more than once in *Hamlet*, as in Act iii. Sc. 2, where Polonius says:—'I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol: Brutus killed me.' Again, in Act i. Sc. 1, Horatio recalls the portents that heralded the death of Caesar. Even more significant is the fact that the character of Hamlet is closely akin to that of Brutus. Both were men of reflection rather than of action: yet both were called upon by inevitable fate to commit deeds of violence wholly alien to the promptings of their true nature. The parallel, like all parallels, must not be pushed too far, but in the main the criticism of Professor Brandes is just, that Hamlet is another Brutus with the addition of humour and a touch of genius. These considerations appear sufficient to warrant the inference that *Hamlet* was written almost immediately after *Julius Caesar*.

The details that go to make up the play are welded together with wonderful skill from the three separate Lives of Caesar, Brutus, and Antonius. Apart from the meetings of the conspirators, which are described at length in the *Life of Brutus*, the first two acts and the first scene of Act iii. are drawn from the *Life of Caesar*. Antony's speech in Act iii. Sc. 2 is based upon a passage in the *Life of Antonius* (pp. 175–6): while the murder of Cinna in Act iii. Sc. 3 must be traced to the *Life of Brutus*, since he is not described as a 'poet' in the similar passage in the *Life of Caesar*. Acts iv and v follow closely the *Life of Brutus*, though the statement that Cassius stabbed himself with the sword with which he had murdered Caesar is drawn from the *Life of Caesar*.

Shakespeare has not imitated the language of North so closely in this as in the other plays. The passages most closely followed are the speech of Portia to her husband, the parting words of Cassius and Brutus before the battle of Philippi, the words of Lucilius to Antony (Act v. Sc. 4), and Brutus's last speech before his death. These extracts are quoted in full in the Notes. From the point of view of comparative study of Plutarch and Shakespeare, the most instructive part of the play is the third scene of the fourth act, where the quarrel of Brutus and Cassius and their reconciliation on the news of Portia's death is constructed out of a long series of incidents detailed in pp. 137–44 of the *Life of Brutus*.

For two centuries opinions have been sharply divided over the meaning and purpose of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. According to one theory, the Caesar of the play is a contemptible braggart and dotard, so pictured either because Shakespeare was in truth wholly ignorant of his real character, or because he purposely degraded him in order to justify the action of Brutus, who is the real hero of the play. On the other side it is maintained that the purpose of the dramatist is to show the ultimate triumph of Caesarism, in spite of the death of its protagonist, over Brutus and Cassius, the last champions of republicanism. The latter theory is supported by the analogy of the generally accepted opinion as to the national *motif* of Shakespeare's English chronicle plays. The existence of this problem adds special interest to the study of Shakespeare's handling of Plutarch in the case of this play.

Throughout the *Life of Caesar* it is clear that Plutarch's attitude towards his subject is not wholly sympathetic. He praises him, it is true, for his eloquence, his generosity, his courage, his good generalship. But through it all there runs an undercurrent of dislike of his tyrannical disposition and his boundless ambition. The very anecdotes he tells of him are characterized by an element of sarcasm, even of bitterness, unlike his usual urbanity and good nature. Thus it is hinted that the magniloquent phrase in which he justified the putting away of his wife disguised an anxiety to please the people by securing the acquittal of Clodius (p. 54). The braggart is revealed in his lament that

Alexander at his age had won many countries, whereas he had done nothing worthy of himself (p. 55). He will not allow the sword captured from him by the Arverni to be recovered, for it is 'a holy thing' (p. 70). An unsavoury bit of scandal about his relations with Servilia is dished up in the *Life of Brutus*. Yet in warfare he is valiant, skilful, and magnanimous, and it is worthy of note that his failings are most strongly emphasized when his fighting career is over, i.e. at the point where the play begins. Plutarch strikes the keynote at once after the defeat of Pompey's sons (p. 99): 'The prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but rather gave him hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprise and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth.' Further, he was 'mortally hated', we are told, 'for the covetous desire he had to be called king' (p. 100). He will not rise from his seat to receive the Senate (p. 101): he speaks of the people in contemptuous terms (p. 102): lastly, on the day of his death, he vacillates helplessly between womanish fear and arrogant self-confidence. Such is Plutarch's picture of the later Caesar, and such is Shakespeare's, with a few added touches, such as deafness, and his old enemy epilepsy. However, it must be remembered that, apart from the scene where Caesar is in turn intimidated by his wife and browbeaten by Decius (*sic*) Brutus, which is modelled carefully upon Plutarch (p. 105), the descriptions of Caesar's character come to us mainly from the mouths of bitter personal foes like Casca and Cassius. Brutus, who has 'not known when his affections swayed more than his reason', who weeps for his friendship, who rejoices at his fortune, who honours him for his valiantness, slays him only for his ambition. Brutus is purblind in his judgement of a villain, but unerring in his recognition of greatness.

The character of Brutus is delineated by Plutarch with the utmost minuteness and sympathy. 'He was rightly made and framed unto virtue.' His manner of speech was terse, even as Shakespeare represents it in his address to the people at Caesar's funerals. His reflective nature is

illustrated by his behaviour while the conspiracy was afoot: 'For either care did wake him against his will, when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into deep thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen.' Yet when his mind is made up, not even the report of his wife's death can make him swerve from his purpose (p. 125). Averse to bloodshed, he spares Antonius's life when Cassius with keener foresight demands his death, and, against the wiser instincts of his companions, allows him to deliver Caesar's funeral oration. He reproves Cicero for taking part with Octavius, adding that 'for his own part he had never resolutely determined with himself to make war or peace, but otherwise that he was certainly minded never to be slave or subject'. The only fault that Plutarch can find in his whole career is his promise to allow his men the sack of two cities if they should win the battle of Philippi. His tender heart is shown by his grief at the firing of the city of Xanthus (p. 140); in short, 'he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded, and would never be in any rage nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice,' so that all were persuaded that his intent was good (p. 138).

Of Cassius, on the other hand, Plutarch tells us that 'men reputed him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel, who sought to rule men by fear rather than with lenity'. His inborn hatred of tyrants is illustrated by an amusing anecdote of his schoolboy days (p. 119), yet his share in the conspiracy was due to private hatred of Caesar rather than to high principle. Less scrupulous than Brutus, as we have seen, his judgement was more acute, and Brutus's respect for his great qualities is evinced by his lament over his death, where he calls him 'the last of all the Romans'. Shakespeare enlists some sympathy for Cassius by an added touch in Act iv. Sc. 3, where his forbearance and love for Brutus are evoked by the news of Portia's death. Indeed, throughout the scene of the quarrel Cassius rises superior to Brutus in breadth of view and magnanimity, distraught as Brutus is, despite all his philosophy, by his wife's death.

The tragedy of the play lies neither in the murder of Caesar, nor in the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, but in the decay and downfall of Roman republicanism. No sooner has Brutus given his reasons in trenchant syllables for Caesar's murder, than the people exclaim with unconscious irony:—'Live Brutus, live'. 'Let him be Caesar.' And, on the eve of his death, the pitiful suicide of Cassius wrings from him the confession:—'O, Julius Caesar, thou art mighty yet!' The keynote of this conception is to be found in Plutarch's summing up of Caesar's life (p. 109–10). 'So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreme danger, but a vain name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country. But his great prosperity, and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death.'

VI. Shakespeare's 'Antony and Cleopatra'.

We have noticed that Shakespeare took some of the details for his play of *Julius Caesar* from Plutarch's *Life of Antonius*, and it is natural to suppose that, when he laid aside his Plutarch in order to write his great series of tragedies, he had already conceived the idea of using the remainder of this *Life* for another Roman play. The date of *Antony and Cleopatra* is not certain, but it is probably to be placed in 1607 or 1608. Just as in the case of *Julius Caesar* some affinity was noticed with *Hamlet*, so it is possible to trace in this later play a thread of connexion with the great world-tragedy of *King Lear*. Shakespeare was attracted to the subject, no doubt, by the great picture of oriental splendour and luxury drawn by Plutarch, whose Greek temperament found more adequate expression in the description of the magnificence of Egypt, than it did in the more sober and prosaic circumstances of the last days of the Roman Republic. The natural result of this was that,

in the play of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare followed his original with closer fidelity than ever. Not only is there scarcely an incident in the play which is not drawn from Plutarch, but there is hardly a detail in the later part of the *Life of Antonius* which Shakespeare has failed to incorporate in the play, except the long narrative of Antony's campaign against the Parthians. Thus, in Act iii, the the scene changes swiftly from Syria to Rome, from Rome to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to Athens; thence again to Rome, from Rome to Actium, and from Actium once more to Alexandria. It is the old complaint voiced in Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, a play 'where you shal have Asia of the one side and Affrick of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms that the Player, when he commeth in, must ever begin with telling where he is: or els the tale wil not be conceived'. But this rapid transit from continent to continent is only a device of Shakespeare's to enhance the magnitude of his great theme. As the English chronicle plays form a series of steps in the national history of England, so *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* treat of the *Welt-politik* underlying the history of the rise and subsequent decline of the Roman Empire.

The actual period that elapsed between the death of Fulvia, with which the play virtually opens, and the death of Cleopatra, with which it ends, was in reality about ten years; but, for dramatic reasons, events in the play follow one another with startling rapidity. Thus, according to Shakespeare, Caesar pursues Antony to Egypt immediately after the battle of Actium, though in Plutarch's narrative at least a year elapses between the sea-fight and Caesar's landing in Egypt (p. 233).

In the character of Antonius, Plutarch achieved a masterpiece; and this manly, broad-fronted, Herculean figure, endowed with Asiatic magniloquence and gigantic ambition, is the very Antony of Shakespeare. His love for Cleopatra so dominates him, that the blunt, hardy warrior, who has endured every hardship by the side of his men, becomes transformed into the coward, 'so carried away with the vain love of this woman as if he had been glued unto her,' that he follows her terror-stricken flight from the battle of Actium. Lover-like, he is tortured with jealousy when

Cleopatra gives unduly long audience to Caesar's envoy, and his fury at her final betrayal of him only dissolves into passionate grief, followed by suicide, at the news of her feigned death. His is indeed an artist nature, to be paralleled only by that of Marlowe's Tamburlaine in the whole history of the drama. Shakespeare had only to put the finishing touches to the sure lines of Plutarch's work. Nor is the case different with Cleopatra. 'Her beauty,' Plutarch tells us, 'was not so passing as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation that a man could not possibly but be taken, and, besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleasant.' Shakespeare never insists, hardly implies even, that she is beautiful. Antony calls her 'a right gipsy', his 'nightingale', his 'serpent of old Nile'. The blunt old misogynist, Enobarbus, probes to the depths of her charms in his admission that 'age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety'. Sextus Pompey speaks contemptuously of the 'waned lip' of 'salt Cleopatra'. She does not hesitate to describe herself as black 'with Phœbus' amorous pinches', and 'wrinkled deep in time'. Yet she is Antony's 'day o' the world', his 'great fairy'. Shakespeare's profound knowledge of the world led him to insist more than Plutarch on her coquetry. Thus in the *Life of Antonius* we read that 'she every way so framed her countenance that, when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him like a woman ravished for joy. Straight again when he went from her, she fell a-weeping and blubbering, looked ruefully of the matter, and still found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then, when he came suddenly upon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep.' In the play, on the contrary, she charges her messenger

> If you find him sad,
> Say I am dancing; if in mirth, report
> That I am sudden sick.

The Cleopatra of the stage, again, only threatens to starve and torture her body to escape being shown in Caesar's triumph, whereas, in Plutarch, Caesar finds her 'marvellously disfigured' when he visits her bedside. Yet in the play, no less than in the *Life*, the manner of her end shows the depth and reality of her passion. The fear when Iras dies before her, lest she should meet Antony first and steal 'that kiss which is her heaven to have', is a rare psychological touch of Shakespeare's own, yet wholly consistent with her character as drawn by Plutarch.

On the other hand, Enobarbus is practically created by Shakespeare; he is referred to three times only in the *Life of Antonius*. On page 201 he addresses the army in Antonius's place before the retreat from Parthia; on page 216 he persuades Antonius to send Cleopatra away to Egypt; and on page 223 the bare details of his desertion to Caesar and subsequent death are given, though the incident takes place at the battle of Actium, and not at the later battle of Alexandria, as in the play. Upon this scanty framework Shakespeare built up the blunt, rugged warrior, whose dry wit and shrewd aphorisms provide the seasoning to Antony's imaginative flights. So successful was the portrait of Enobarbus that both Fletcher and Dryden in their Cleopatra plays imitated the character in Septimius and Sceva respectively.

The character of Lepidus again is wonderfully developed in the play. Plutarch gives but a bare sketch of the weak-minded puppet, who orders the trumpets to be sounded to prevent Antonius from winning over his men by his eloquence (p. 178), and who is carelessly flung aside by Caesar when he is no longer needed. From these slender details Shakespeare evolved the Lepidus who in the banquet scene on Sextus Pompey's galley aims his clumsy shafts of sarcasm at Antonius, and is finally carried off helplessly drunk by an attendant, bearing as Enobarbus says 'the third part of the world' on his shoulders. The whole scene is handed with rare zest and vigour, and doubtless the host and his rascally lieutenant Menas were modelled on the hardy sea-dogs of Shakespeare's day.

Antony and Cleopatra is a problem play, in the modern sense of the phrase, but in it the sexual question is handled

only in its relation to the whole sphere of human interests and aspirations. The future of the world hangs on the love of Antony for his queen. His soul is a battle-field wherein passion and statesmanship strive in deadly combat. Passion gains the mastery, and the world is lost, yet well lost. The cool, calculating Octavius is branded 'ass unpolicied', and the real victory is with the vanquished. The tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra is to be read within the lines of their lives, for in their deaths they triumph.

VII. Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus'.

The *Life of Coriolanus* must be read, not in the light of sober history, but rather as a legend in which Plutarch was able to give tolerably free play to his imaginative powers. The main facts of the story were no doubt prescribed by popular tradition together with the main outlines of the character of the haughty patrician, Coriolanus, but the development of that character as portrayed in these pages is Plutarch's own work. So admirable is his delineation, that Shakespeare in adapting this *Life* to his own purposes found himself able to transfer Plutarch's Coriolanus almost bodily into the pages of his play. In fact there is scarcely a speech or an action on the part of Shakespeare's Coriolanus which cannot be justified by some passage in Plutarch. The one notable exception is the famous incident in Act i. Sc. 9, ll. 82–91, where with wonderful psychological insight Coriolanus is made to forget the name of his poor host at the very moment when he is pleading for his life. On the other hand the exigencies of tragedy demanded a serious alteration in the treatment of the Roman *plebs*. Plutarch himself was not closely conversant with the constitutional history of Rome, but the people in his narrative play at any rate a more dignified part than the contemptible rabble of Shakespeare's play. The dramatist would seem also to have misconceived entirely the position and functions of the *Tribuni Plebis*, whom he represents as the vilest of demagogues. It is unnecessary, however, to base upon such premisses the familiar conclusion that Shakespeare was ignorant and

illiterate. He held no brief, as Ben Jonson did, for that degree of historical accuracy which verges on pedantry, nor did such considerations have the slightest weight with his audiences. The real point at issue was to make of Plutarch's Coriolanus a true tragic hero; and, to enlist our sympathies for the arrogant patrician, demanded the ignobling of the people who brought about his ruin. Not otherwise could his scathing invectives against 'the mutable, rank-scented many', and his terrible revenge on his country, be justified.

Little comment is needed on the way in which the play is constructed out of Plutarch's narrative. *Coriolanus* is one of the most regular of all Shakespeare's plays. In Act iii is the anti-climax of Coriolanus's banishment from Rome; in Act iv even a kind of *ἀναγνώρισις*, in the scene where Coriolanus in disguise seeks out Aufidius at Antium; in Act v the consummation of the whole tragedy by the murder of Coriolanus, followed immediately by his murderer's realization of the fatal blunder he has committed. These last sorrowful words of Aufidius seem to presage his own downfall, of which Plutarch's narrative tells us. Plutarch's account of the popular movement against the aristocracy was ingeniously dovetailed together by Shakespeare. In the original, three distinct insurrections are described, the separate causes and results of which are fused together in the play. The first insurrection, which culminated in the withdrawal of the people to the Holy Hill, was caused by the oppression of usurers, and aggravated by an attempt to force all able-bodied citizens to go to the wars. The second was due to famine, coupled with an attempt on the part of the senate to restock a plague-stricken city with Roman citizens; and the third was caused by a refusal on the part of the senate to give free distribution of a store of corn that had been brought into Rome. This refusal was strongly advocated by Coriolanus, and it was this that led to his condemnation and banishment by the people, who had upon a previous occasion rejected him for the consulship. In the play, on the other hand, the popular revolt described in the first scene is assigned to a whole concatenation of grievances similar to those just detailed, and the banishment of

Coriolanus arises directly out of his suit for the consulship.

A study of the minor characters of the play reveals to us something of Shakespeare's power to work up a character or a situation from the slenderest materials. The case of Menenius will serve amply to illustrate this. He appears in Plutarch on one occasion only, as chief of 'the pleasantest old men' deputed to confer with the people on the Holy Hill, and in his speech tells the famous fable of the revolt of the other members against the belly. The character of this fable seems to have suggested to Shakespeare the portrait of the easy-going, dinner-loving, garrulous old gentleman depicted in the play, who describes himself as 'a humorous patrician, and one that loves a cup of hot wine, with not a drop of allaying Tiber in 't', and who is labelled by Brutus in euphuistic phrase as a 'perfecter giber for the table than a necessary bencher in the Capitol'. The ladies Volumnia, Virgilia, and Valeria have been described as the most typically Roman of all the dramatis personae. This is due to the fact that Plutarch treated their share in the story with considerable fullness, so that Shakespeare was enabled to follow his original closely. A study of the scene in which the ladies plead with Coriolanus for a cessation of the war will bear this out.

Mr. George Wyndham propounded the ingenious theory that in the three Roman plays Shakespeare set himself to depict woman in her threefold aspect as mother, wife, and mistress. Portia and Cleopatra may stand as universal and eternal types of wife and mistress, but the hypothesis is not equally appropriate in the case of Volumnia, who is essentially a Roman matron rather than a type of motherhood

As *Coriolanus* is in all probability the latest in date of the Roman plays, it is only natural to find that in this case Shakespeare followed the actual language of North with considerable fidelity; for, by this time, he had entirely abandoned the severer method of treatment which he had applied to Holinshed and his other earlier sources. The passages most closely imitated are the fable of Menenius in Act i. Sc. 1, the speech of Coriolanus in Act iii. Sc. 1, his famous speech to Aufidius in Act iv. Sc. 5, and the address of

Volumnia referred to above in Act v. Sc. 3. These passages will be found quoted in full in the notes.

VIII. Plutarch and Non-Shakespearean Drama.

The influence of Plutarch is to be traced in the work of other writers besides Shakespeare in the history of English drama, although there is no other patent instance of deliberate appropriation of North's style and language.

Among all the classical subjects of the drama none have proved more adaptable or more popular than Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, and Plutarch is the fountain-head of information about their lives. Julius Caesar figured upon the English stage long before Shakespeare placed him there, and the words of Polonius already quoted are an obvious allusion to an academic play on his fall. There is an interesting example of a similar play of later date (1607) in the British Museum, entitled 'The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey, or Caesar's Revenge. Priuately acted by the Studentes of Trinity College in Oxford'. It is typically academic (in the least complimentary sense), and portentously dull, for it carries on the declamatory traditions of Sackville's *Gorboduc*. The plot is constructed out of the narratives of Plutarch and Suetonius, with a jealous exclusion of all their lighter touches and illuminative details; but the writer probably read Plutarch in a Latin version, as did Stephen Gosson, who quotes him repeatedly in his *School of Abuse*, and had doubtless made use of his materials in his play of *Catilins Conspiracies*. Henslowe's *Diary* records more than one Caesar play anterior in date to Shakespeare's: e.g. on November 8, 1594, a new play, 'seser and pompie', and on June 18 in the following year, 'the 2 pte of sesore'. On May 22, 1602, is an entry of payments to Munday, Drayton, Webster, and others 'in earneste of a Boocke called sesers ffalle'.

The False One, by Beaumont and Fletcher, which of all their plays in Hazlitt's opinion comes nearest to Shakespeare, treats of Caesar's relations with Cleopatra. The authors disclaimed any intention to imitate Shakespeare, but they were unable to avoid certain resemblances,

especially in the case of Septimius, who is an obvious replica of Enobarbus. This play is based upon Plutarch's *Life of Caesar* in the main, though there are no actual reminiscences of North's language. Samuel Daniel's *Tragedie of Cleopatra* is generally quoted as owing much to Plutarch, but the debt is in reality slight, for the play treats only of the closing scenes of Cleopatra's life after Antony's death, so that the story as told by Plutarch is greatly expanded by Daniel. One more play must be mentioned, Dryden's splendidly named *All for Love, or the World well lost*. This is an avowed modernization of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, and, judged from present day standards, a lamentable production. Dryden takes credit to himself for an inventive flight which evolved a fine ranting scene between Cleopatra and Octavia, and the arguments by which he justifies the innovation are a sufficient verdict upon his work. His imitation of Shakespeare's description of Cleopatra's progress down the river is quoted in the Notes, and further illustration of his 'improvements' on Shakespeare and North would be superfluous.

The *Lives* have not been without their influence on non-dramatic English literature, for Milton, Wordsworth (*Dion*), and Browning (*Balaustion*), have all borrowed from that rich treasury. To add to the foregoing list would not be difficult, but it is needless, for the writer who inspired Shakespeare and Montaigne requires no tribute or acknowledgement beyond that contained in their pages.

IX. List of Editions of North's Plutarch.

A. Complete editions:—

(1) 1579. *Editio princeps.* 'The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarke of Chaeronea: translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amyot, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the King's priuy counsel, and great Amner of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe by Thomas North.

'Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier and Iohn Wight.'

After page 1131 come 'The Lives of Annibal and Scipio African, Translated into French by Charles de la Sluce, and Englished by Thomas North.'

[In this edition only, the pages are divided up by the letters A, B, C, D, E, marking off every tenth line.]

(2) 1595. 'The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romaines . . . imprinted at London by Richard Field for Bonham Norton.'

[This edition differs slightly from the preceding, both in substance and pagination. It has an index subjoined, headed 'A Table of the Principallest things conteined in this Volume.']

(3) 1603. Printed by Richard Field for Thomas Wight. Contains a supplement with separate pagination and title-page as follows:—'The Lives of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the Elder, and of Octavius Caesar Augustus: collected out of good Authors. Also the lives of nine excellent chieftaines of warre, taken out of Latine from Emylius Probus, by S[imon] G[oulart] S[enlisien]. By whom also are added the lives of Plutarch and of Seneca: Gathered together, disposed, and enriched as the others. And now translated into English by Sir Thomas North Knight. Imprinted at London by Richard Field 1603.'

[Another copy of this edition in the British Museum, with different imprint, bears the autograph signatures of Ol. Cromwell (spurious) and Ri. Cromwell on the title-page.]

(4) 1612. A reprint of 1603, with separate supplement bearing the date 1610.

(5) 1631. Substantially the same edition as 1612, but printed by George Miller.

(6) 1657. Printed by Abraham Miller, with separate title-page, bearing the date 1656.

[This edition contains additional matter which is said by the printer to have been inserted on the advice and with the help of Selden.]

(7) 1676. Cambridge, printed by J. Hayes.

(8) 1895. Reprint of *editio princeps* in the Tudor Translations. Edited with introduction by George Wyndham. 6 vols.

(9) 1898. Reprint of 1579 edition in Temple Classics.

10 vols., edited by W. H. D. Rouse, with modernized spelling.

B. Selected Lives.

(1) 1875. 'Shakespeare's Plutarch, being a selection from the lives in North's Plutarch which illustrate Shakespeare's plays.' Ed. W. W. Skeat. [The Lives printed are those of Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Brutus, Antonius, Octavius, and parts of Theseus and Alcibiades. The text follows the 1603 edition.]

(2) 1875. J. P. Collier's *Shakespeare's Library* (revised and enlarged by W. C. Hazlitt), part i. vol. 3, contains the Lives of Brutus, Antonius, and Coriolanus, and part of that of Julius Caesar. The text is that of 1595.

(3) 1878. 'Four Chapters of North's Plutarch containing the Lives of Caius Martius Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Marcus Antonius, and Marcus Brutus, as sources to Shakespeare's Tragedies, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, and partly to Hamlet and Timon of Athens.' Photo-lithographed in the size of the original edition of 1595, ed. F. A. Leo.

(4) The present edition.

THE LIFE OF
CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS

THE house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the patricians, out of the which hath sprung many noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numa's daughter's son, who was King of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same house were Publius and Quintus, who brought to Rome their best water they had by conduits. Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed because the people had chosen him Censor twice. Through whose persuasion they made a law, that no man from thenceforth might require or enjoy the Censorship twice. Caius Martius, whose life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought up under his mother, a widow, who taught us by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excel in virtue above the common sort: as they that are meanly born wrongfully do complain that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought up, and taught that were meet. This man also is a good proof to confirm some men's opinions, that a rare and excellent wit untaught doth bring forth many good and evil things together, like a fat soil bringeth forth herbs and weeds that lieth unmanured. For this Martius' natural wit and great heart did marvellously stir up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side, for lack of education, he was so choleric and impatient, that he would yield to no living creature: which made him churlish, uncivil, and altogether unfit for any man's conversation. Yet men marvelling much at his constancy, that he was never overcome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure easily all manner of pains and travails: thereupon they well liked

The family of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius brought the water by conduits to Rome.

Censorinus' law.

and commended his stoutness and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen useth to be with another in the city: his behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reason of a certain insolent and stern manner he had, which, because it was too lordly, was disliked. And, to say truly, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth unto men is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compass and rule of reason, to be civil and courteous, and to like better the mean state than the higher. Now in those days, valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other virtues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of virtue itself, as including in that general name all other special virtues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin was as much as valiantness. But Martius, being more inclined to the wars than any other gentleman of his time, began from his childhood to give himself to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himself therein: and outward he esteemed armour to no purpose, unless one were naturally armed within. Moreover he did so exercise his body to hardness and all kind of activity, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mighty in griping, so that no man could ever cast him. Insomuch as those that would try masteries with him for strength and nimbleness, would say, when they were overcome, that all was by reason of his natural strength, and hardness of ward, that never yielded to any pain or toil he took upon him. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when Tarquin surnamed the Proud (that had been King of Rome, and was driven out for his pride, after many attempts made by sundry battles to come in again, wherein he was ever overcome) did come to Rome, with all the aid of the Latins, and many other people of Italy: even as it were to set up his whole rest upon a battle by them, who with a great and mighty army had undertaken to put him into his kingdom again, not so much to pleasure him, as to overthrow the power of the Romans, whose greatness they both feared and envied. In this battle, wherein were many hot and sharp encounters of either party, Martius valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator: and, a Roman soldier being thrown to the ground even hard by him, Martius straight bestrid him, and slew the enemy with

The benefit of learning.

What this word *virtus* signifieth.

Coriolanus' first going to wars.

his own hands that had before overthrown the Roman. Hereupon, after the battle was won, the Dictator did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Martius with a garland of oaken boughs. For whosoever saveth the life of a Roman, it is a manner among them to honour him with such a garland. This was either because the law did this honour to the oak in favour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of Apollo were in the old time called eaters of acorns: or else because the soldiers might easily in every place come by oaken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessary to give him that had saved a citizen's life a crown of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated unto Jupiter, the patron and protector of their cities, and thought amongst other wild trees to bring forth a profitable fruit, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning did use acorns for their bread, and honey for their drink: and further, the oak did feed their beasts, and give them birds, by taking glue from the oaks, with the which they made bird-lime to catch silly birds. They say that Castor and Pollux appeared in this battle, and how, incontinently after the battle, men saw them in the market-place at Rome, all their horses being on a white foam: and they were the first that brought news of the victory, even in the same place where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honour of them, near unto the fountain. And this is the cause, why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of July) is consecrated yet to this day unto Castor and Pollux. Moreover it is daily seen that, honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time and before they have any great courage by nature, the desire to win more dieth straight in them, which easily happeneth, the same having no deep root in them before. Where, contrariwise, the first honour that valiant minds do come unto doth quicken up their appetite, hasting them forward as with force of wind, to enterprise things of high deserving praise. For they esteem not to receive reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come: and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heels, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiant deeds. This desire being bred in Martius,

Coriolanus crowned with a garland of oaken boughs.

The goodness of the oak.

Too sudden honour in youth killeth further desire of same.

Coriolanus' noble endeavour to continue well-deserving.

he strained still to pass himself in manliness, and being desirous to show a daily increase of his valiantness, his noble service did still advance his fame, bringing in spoils upon spoils from the enemy. Whereupon, the captains that came afterwards (for envy of them that went before) did contend who should most honour him, and who should bear most honourable testimony of his valiantness. Insomuch as the Romans having many wars and battles in those days, Coriolanus was at them all: and there was not a battle fought, from whence he returned not without some reward of honour. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant was that they hoped to have honour: but touching Martius, the only thing that made him to love honour was the joy he saw his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honourable, as that his mother might hear everybody praise and commend him, that she might always see him return with a crown upon his head, and that she might still embrace him with tears running down her cheeks for joy. Which desire they say Epaminondas did avow and confess to have been in him: as to think himself a most happy and blessed man, that his father and mother in their lifetime had seen the victory he won in the plain of Leuctra. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to have his father and mother living, to be partakers of his joy and prosperity. But Martius thinking all due to his mother, that had been also due to his father if he had lived: did not only content himself to rejoice and honour her, but at her desire took a wife also, by whom he had two children, and yet never left his mother's house therefore. Now, he being grown to great credit and authority in Rome for his valiantness, it fortuned there grew sedition in the city, because the Senate did favour the rich against the people, who did complain of the sore oppression of usurers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had little were yet spoiled of that little they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the usury: who offered their goods to be sold to them that would give most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they showed, which they had received in many battles, fighting for defence of their country and com-

Coriolanus and Epaminondas did both place their desire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

Extremity of usury complained of at Rome by the people.

monwealth: of the which, the last war they made was against the Sabines, wherein they fought upon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would entreat them more gently, and also upon the word of Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate, who, by authority of the Council, and in behalf of the rich, said they should perform that they had promised. But after that they had faithfully served in this last battle of all, where they overcame their enemies, seeing they were never a whit the better, nor more gently entreated, and that the Senate would give no ear to them, but made as though they had forgotten the former promise, and suffered them to be made slaves and bondmen to their creditors, and besides, to be turned out of all that ever they had: they fell then even to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to stir up dangerous tumults within the city. The Romans' enemies, hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the territories of Rome with a marvellous great power, spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediately made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all those that were of lawful age to carry weapon should come and enter their names into the muster-master's book, to go to the wars: but no man obeyed their commandment. Whereupon their chief magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of divers opinions among themselves. For some thought it was reason they should somewhat yield to the poor people's request, and that they should a little qualify the severity of the law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martius for one. For he alleged, that the creditors losing their money they had lent was not the worst thing that was thereby: but that the lenity that was favoured was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the commonalty was to abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wise, they should betimes prevent and quench this ill-favoured and worse meant beginning. The Senate met many days in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poor common people, seeing no redress, gathered themselves one day together, and one encouraging another, they all forsook the city, and encamped themselves upon a hill, called at that day the holy hill, alongst the river of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt

Counsellors' promises make men valiant in hope of just performance.

Ingratitude and good service unrewarded provoketh rebellion.

Martius Coriolanus against the people.

The people leave the city and do go to the holy hill.

or violence, or making any show of actual rebellion: saving that they cried as they went up and down, that the rich men had driven them out of the city, and that all Italy through they should find air, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreover, they said, to dwell at Rome was nothing else but to be slain, or hurt with continual wars and fighting for defence of the rich men's goods. The Senate, being afeared of their departure, did send unto them certain of the pleasantest old men and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of those Menenius Agrippa was he who was sent for chief man of the message from the Senate. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requests made to the people on the behalf of the Senate, knit up his oration in the end with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of man's body did rebel against the belly, complaining of it, that it only remained in the midst of the body, without doing anything, neither did bear any labour to the maintenance of the rest: whereas all other parts and members did labour painfully, and were very careful to satisfy the appetites and desires of the body. And so the belly, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their folly, and said: 'It is true, I first receive all meats that nourish man's body; but afterwards I send it again to the nourishment of other parts of the same.' 'Even so' (quoth he) 'O you, my masters, and citizens of Rome: the reason is alike between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels throughly examined, touching the benefit of the commonwealth, the Senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto every one of you.' These persuasions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearly chosen five magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whose office should be to defend the poor people from violence and oppression. So Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus were the first Tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only been the causers and procurers of this sedition. Hereupon, the city being grown again to good quiet and unity, the people immediately went to the wars, showing that they had a good will to do better than ever they did, and to be very willing to obey the magistrates in that they would command, concerning the wars. Martius also, though it liked him nothing to

An excellent tale told by Menenius Agrippa to pacify the people.

The first beginning of *Tribuni plebis*.

Junius Brutus, Sicinius Vellutus, the two first Tribunes.

see the greatness of the people thus increased, considering it was to the prejudice and embasing of the nobility, and also saw that other noble patricians were troubled as well as himself: he did persuade the patricians to show themselves no less forward and willing to fight for their country than the common people were, and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much pass the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiantness. In the country of the Volscians, against whom the Romans made war at that time, there was a principal city and of most fame, that was called Corioli, before the which the Consul Cominius did lay siege. Wherefore all the other Volscians fearing lest that city should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the country to save it, intending to give the Romans battle before the city, and to give an onset on them in two several places. The Consul Cominius, understanding this, divided his army also into two parts, and, taking the one part with himself, he marched towards them that were drawing to the city out of the country: and the other part of his army he left in the camp with Titus Lartius (one of the valiantest men the Romans had at that time), to resist those that would make any sally out of the city upon them. So the Coriolans, making small account of them that lay in camp before the city, made a sally out upon them, in the which at the first the Coriolans had the better, and drave the Romans back again into the trenches of their camp. But Martius being there at that time, running out of the camp with a few men with him, he slew the first enemies he met withal, and made the rest of them stay upon the sudden, crying out to the Romans that had turned their backs, and calling them again to fight with a loud voice. For he was even such another as Cato would have a soldier and a captain to be, not only terrible and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeared with the sound of his voice and grimness of his countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately a great number of Romans: whereat the enemies were so afeared, that they gave back presently. But Martius, not staying so, did chase and follow them to their own gates, that fled for life. And there perceiving that the Romans retired back, for the great number of darts and arrows which flew

The city of Corioli besieged by the Consul Cominius.

Titus Lartius, a valiant Roman.

The properties of a soldier.

about their ears from the walls of the city, and that there was not one man amongst them that durst venture himself to follow the flying enemies into the city, for that it was full of men of war, very well armed and appointed: he did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers than the fliers. But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Martius, being in the throng among the enemies, thrust himself into the gates of the city, and entered the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turn their face upon him, or else offer to stay him. But he looking about him, and seeing he was entered the city with very few men to help him, and perceiving he was environed by his enemies that gathered round about to set upon him, did things, as it is written, wonderful and incredible, as well for the force of his hand, as also for the agility of his body, and with a wonderful courage and valiantness he made a lane through the midst of them, and overthrew also those he laid at: that some he made run to the furthest part of the city, and other for fear he made yield themselves, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this means Martius that was gotten out had some leisure to bring the Romans with more safety into the city. The city being taken in this sort, the most part of the soldiers began incontinently to spoil, to carry away, and to lock up the booty they had won. But Martius was marvellous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to look after spoil, and to run straggling here and there to enrich themselves, whilst the other Consul and their fellow-citizens peradventure were fighting with their enemies: and how that, leaving the spoil, they should seek to wind themselves out of danger and peril. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore, taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the city, and took his way towards that part, where he understood the rest of the army was: exhorting and entreating them by the way that followed him not to be faint-hearted, and oft holding up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the battle, and in a good hour to

The city of Corioli taken.

hazard his life in defence of his countrymen. Now the Romans when they were put in battle ray, and ready to take their targets on their arms, and to gird them upon their arming coats, had a custom to make their wills at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heir in the presence of three or four witnesses. Martius came just to that reckoning, whilst the soldiers were doing after that sort, and that the enemies were approached so near, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coming, all bloody, and in a sweat, and but with a few men following him: some thereupon began to be afeared. But soon after, when they saw him run with a lively cheer to the Consul, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the city of Corioli, and that they saw the Consul Cominius also kiss and embrace him: then there was not a man but took heart again to him, and began to be of a good courage, some hearing him report from point to point the happy success of this exploit, and other also conjecturing it by seeing their gestures afar off. Then they all began to call upon the Consul to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge upon the enemy. Martius asked him how the order of their enemies' battle was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made him answer, that he thought the bands which were in the voward of their battle were those of the Antiates, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would give no place to any of the host of their enemies. Then prayed Martius to be set directly against them. The Consul granted him, greatly praising his courage. Then Martius, when both armies came almost to join, advanced himself a good space before his company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the voward that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battle of the enemies. But the two wings of either side turned one to the other, to compass him in between them: which the Consul Cominius perceiving, he sent thither straight of the best soldiers he had about him. So the battle was marvellous bloody about Martius, and in a very short space many were slain in the place. But in the end

Soldiers' testaments.

By Coriolanus' means the Volscians were overcome in battle.

the Romans were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their array: and, scattering them, made them fly. Then they prayed Martius that he would retire to the camp, because they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great pain he had taken, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But Martius answered them, that it was not for conquerors to yield, nor to be faint-hearted: and thereupon began afresh to chase those that fled, until such time as the army of the enemies was utterly overthrown, and numbers of them slain and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, Martius went to the Consul, and the other Romans with him. There the Consul Cominius, going up to his chair of state, in the presence of the whole army, gave thanks to the gods for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victory: then he spake to Martius, whose valiantness he commended beyond the moon, both for that he himself saw him do with his eyes, as also for that Martius had reported unto him. So in the end he willed Martius that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goods they had won (whereof there was great store), ten of every sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gave him, in testimony that he had won that day the price of prowess above all other, a goodly horse with a caparison, and all furniture to him: which the whole army beholding, did marvellously praise and commend. But Martius, stepping forth, told the Consul he most thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his service had deserved his general's commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, than an honourable recompense, he would have none of it, but was contented to have his equal part with the other soldiers. 'Only this grace' (said he) 'I crave and beseech you to grant me. Among the Volscians there is an old friend and host of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a prisoner, who, living before in great wealth in his own country, liveth now a poor prisoner in the hands of his enemies: and yet, notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could save him from this one danger, to keep him from being sold as a slave.' The

The tenth part of the enemies' goods offered Martius for reward of his service by Cominius the Consul.

Valiancy rewarded with honour in the field.

Martius' noble answer and refusal.

soldiers, hearing Martius' words, made a marvellous great shout among them: and there were more that wondered at his great contentation and abstinence, when they saw so little covetousness in him, than they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantness. For even they themselves, that did somewhat malice and envy his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly praised, did think him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompense for his valiant service, as the more carelessly he refused the great offer made unto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the virtue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, than that which made them to be offered to him, as unto a worthy person. For it is far more commendable to use riches well than to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them than to use them well. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul Cominius began to speak in this sort. 'We cannot compel Martius to take these gifts we offer him, if he will not receive them: but we will give him such a reward for the noble service he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, unless his valiant acts have won him that name before our nomination.' And so, ever since, he still bare the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romans have, as Caius, was our Christian name now. The second, as Martius, was the name of the house and family they came of. The third was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some mark on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some special virtue they had. Even so did the Grecians in old time give additions to princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they have called some, Soter, and Callinicos: as much to say as saviour, and conqueror. Or else of some notable apparent mark on one's face, or on his body, they have called him Physcon, and Grypos, as ye would say, gore-belly, and hook-nosed: or else for some virtue, as Euergetes, and Philadelphos: to wit, a benefactor, and lover of his brethren. Or otherwise for one's great felicity, as Eudaemon: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of the Battae[1] surnamed.

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consul.

How the Romans came to have three names.

Why the Grecians gave kings surnames.

[1] These were the princes that built the city of Cyrene.

And some kings have had surnames of jest and mockery. As one of the Antigoni that was called Doson, to say, the Giver: who was ever promising, and never giving. And one of the Ptolemies was called Lamyros, to say, conceitive. The Romans use more than any other nation to give names of mockery in this sort. As there was one Metellus surnamed Diadematus, the banded: because he carried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his own family was called Celer, the quick fly: because, a few days after the death of his father, he showed the people the cruel fight of fencers at unrebated swords, which they found wonderful for the shortness of time. Other had their surnames derived of some accident of their birth. As to this day they call him Proculeius, that is born his father being in some far voyage: and him Postumius, that is born after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other surviveth: they call the survivor, Vopiscus. Sometimes also they give surnames derived of some mark or misfortune of the body. As Sulla, to say, crooked-nosed: Niger, black: Rufus, red: Caecus, blind: Claudus, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustom men to think, that neither the loss of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace unto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories than this. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the people began to stir up sedition again, without any new occasion, or just matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this second insurrection against the nobility and patricians, upon the people's misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord and sedition between them and the nobility. Because the most part of the arable land within the territory of Rome was become heathy and barren for lack of ploughing, for that they had no time nor mean to cause corn to be brought them out of other countries to sow, by reason of their wars which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busy prattlers that sought the people's good-will by such flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of corn to be within the city, and,

Names of mockery among the Romans.

Sedition at Rome by reason of famine.

though there had been plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the nobility, that they, in revenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearth among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came ambassadors to Rome from the city of Velitrae, that offered up their city to the Romans, and prayed them they would send new inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had been so extreme among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not left alive the tenth person of the people that had been there before. So the wise men of Rome began to think that the necessity of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy hour, and how by this occasion it was very meet in so great a scarcity of victuals, to disburden Rome of a great number of citizens: and by this means as well to take away this new sedition, and utterly to rid it out of the city, as also to clear the same of many mutinous and seditious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously fed this disease. Hereupon the Consuls pricked out all those by a bill, whom they intended to send to Velitrae, to go dwell there as in form of a colony: and they levied out of all the rest that remained in the city of Rome, a great number to go against the Volscians, hoping by the means of foreign war to pacify their sedition at home. Moreover they imagined, when the poor with the rich, and the mean sort with the nobility, should by this device be abroad in the wars, and in one camp, and in one service, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and loving together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these devices, and cried out upon the noblemen, that under the gentle name of a colony, they would cloke and colour the most cruel and unnatural fact as might be: because they sent their poor citizens into a sore infected city and pestilent air, full of dead bodies unburied, and there also to dwell under the tuition of a strange god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) even as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast down the people into a most bottomless pit. And are not yet contented to have famished some of the poor citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them even to the mercy of the plague: but afresh they have pro-

Velitrae made a colony to Rome.

Two practices to remove the sedition in Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus, two Tribunes of the people, against both those devices.

cured a voluntary war, to the end they would leave behind no kind of misery and ill, wherewith the poor silly people should not be plagued, and only because they are weary to serve the rich. The common people, being set on a broil and bravery with these words, would not appear when the Consuls called their names by a bill to prest them for the wars, neither would they be sent out to this new colony: insomuch as the Senate knew not well what to say or do in the matter. Martius then, who was now grown to great credit, and a stout man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, rose up, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And, for the replenishing of the city of Velitrae, he did compel those that were chosen, to go thither, and to depart the city, upon great penalties to him that should disobey: but to the wars, the people by no means would be brought or constrained. So Martius, taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by fair words entreat to go with him, did run certain forays into the dominion of the Antiates, where he met with great plenty of corn, and had a marvellous great spoil, as well of cattle as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserved nothing for himself. Afterwards, having brought back again all his men that went out with him safe and sound to Rome, and every man rich and loaden with spoil: then the home-tarriers and house-doves, that kept Rome still, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so envied both them that had sped so well in this journey, and also, of malice to Martius, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Martius stood for the Consulship: and the common people favoured his suit, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chiefest nobleman of blood, and most worthy person of Rome, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the commonwealth. For the custom of Rome was at that time, that such as did sue for any office should for certain days before be in the market-place, only with a poor gown on their backs and without any coat underneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus devised, either to move the

Coriolanus offendeth the people.

Coriolanus invadeth the Antiates and bringeth rich spoils home.

The manner of suing for office at Rome.

people the more by requesting them in such mean apparel, or else because they might show them their wounds they had gotten in the wars in the service of the commonwealth, as manifest marks and testimonies of their valiantness. Now it is not to be thought that the suitors went thus loose in a simple gown in the market-place without any coat under it, for fear, and suspicion of the common people: for offices of dignity in the city were not then given by favour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of officers, and that the voices of the electors were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath run from man to man, even to the very sentence of judges, and also among captains in the wars: so as in the end that only turned commonwealths into kingdoms, by making arms subject to money. Therefore methinks he had reason that said: he that first made banquets and gave money to the common people, was the first that took away authority and destroyed commonwealth. But this pestilence crept in by little and little, and did secretly win ground still, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly known and discovered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the people's voices for money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the judges. Howbeit at Athens some hold opinion, that Anytus, the son of Anthemion, was the first that fed the judges with money, about the end of the wars of Peloponnesus, being accused of treason for yielding up the fort of Pylos, at that time, when the golden and unfoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at Rome. Now Martius, following this custom, showed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which he had received in seventeen years' service at the wars, and in many sundry battles, being ever the foremost man that did set out feet to fight. So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himself, to refuse so valiant a man: and one of them said to another, 'We must needs choose him Consul, there is no remedy.' But when the day of election was come, and that Martius came to the market-place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole nobility of the city about him, who sought to make him Consul, with the greatest instance and entreaty they could

Where-upon the manner of suing was so devised.

Offices given then by desert without favour or corruption.

Banquets and money given only by destroyers of commonwealth.

Anytus, the Athenian, the first that with money corrupted the sentence of the judge and voices of the people.

or ever attempted for any man or matter: then the love and good-will of the common people turned straight to an hate and envy toward him, fearing to put this office of sovereign authority into his hands, being a man somewhat partial towards the nobility, and of great credit and authority amongst the patricians, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty from the people. Whereupon, for these considerations, they refused Martius in the end, and made two other that were suitors, Consuls. The Senate, being marvellously offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusal rather to redound to themselves, than to Martius: but Martius took it in far worse part than the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choler, and too much given to over self-will and opinion, as one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the gravity and affability that is gotten with judgement of learning and reason, which only is to be looked for in a governor of state: and that remembered not how wilfulness is the thing of the world, which a governor of a commonwealth for pleasing should shun, being that which Plato called solitariness. As in the end, all men that are wilfully given to a self-opinion and obstinate mind, and who will never yield to others' reason but to their own, remain without company, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will live in the world must needs have patience, which lusty bloods make but a mock at. So Martius, being a stout man of nature, that never yielded in any respect, as one thinking that to overcome always, and to have the upper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity, and of no base and faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weak and passioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an imposthume, went home to his house full freighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent as those that came of noble race, and commonly used for to follow and honour him. But then specially they flocked about him and kept him company, to his much harm; for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, being sorry with him for the injury the people offered him, because he was their captain and leader to the wars, that taught them all martial

See the fickle minds of common people.

The fruits of self-will and obstinacy.

discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantness, and yet without envy, praising them that deserved best. In the mean season there came great plenty of corn to Rome, that had been bought part in Italy, and part was sent out of Sicily, as given by Gelon the tyrant of Syracusa: so that many stood in great hope that, the dearth of victuals being holpen, the civil dissension would also cease. The Senate sat in council upon it immediately; the common people stood also about the palace where the council was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out, persuading themselves that the corn they had bought should be sold good cheap, and that which was given should be divided by the poll without paying any penny, and the rather, because certain of the Senators amongst them did so wish and persuade the same. But Martius, standing upon his feet, did somewhat sharply take up those who went about to gratify the people therein: and called them people-pleasers, and traitors to the nobility. Moreover, he said, they nourished against themselves the naughty seed and cockle of insolency and sedition, which had been sowed and scattered abroad amongst the people, whom they should have cut off, if they had been wise, and have prevented their greatness: and not (to their own destruction) to have suffered the people to stablish a magistrate for themselves, of so great power and authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but lived in all liberty, acknowledging no superior to command him, saving the only heads and authors of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. 'Therefore,' said he, 'they that gave counsel and persuaded that the corn should be given out to the common people *gratis*, as they used to do in the cities of Greece, where the people had more absolute power, did but only nourish their disobedience, which would break out in the end, to the utter ruin and overthrow of the whole state. For they will not think it is done in recompense of their service past, sithence they know well enough they have so oft refused to go to the wars, when they were commanded: neither for their mutinies when they went with us, whereby they have rebelled and forsaken their country:

Great store of corn brought to Rome.

Coriolanus' oration against the insolency of the people.

neither for their accusations which their flatterers have preferred unto them, and they have received, and made good against the Senate: but they will rather judge, we give and grant them this, as abasing ourselves, and standing in fear of them, and glad to flatter them every way. By this means their disobedience will still grow worse and worse: and they will never leave to practise new sedition and uproars. Therefore it were a great folly for us, methinks, to do it: yea, shall I say more? we should, if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the division of the city. The state whereof as it standeth is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh dismembered in two factions, which maintains always civil dissension and discord between us, and will never suffer us again to be united into one body.' Martius, dilating the matter with many such like reasons, won all the young men and almost all the rich men to his opinion: insomuch they rang it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who stood out against the people, and never flattered them. There were only a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischief might fall out upon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, when they saw that the opinion of Martius was confirmed with the more voices, they left the Senate, and went down to the people, crying out for help, and that they would assemble to save their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tumult together, before whom the words that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so stomached, that even in that fury they were ready to fly upon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly upon Martius, and sent their sergeants forthwith to arrest him, presently to appear in person before the people, to answer the words he had spoken in the Senate. Martius stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their own persons, accompanied with the Aediles, went to fetch him by force, and so laid violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble patricians, gathering together about him, made the Tribunes give back, and laid it sore upon the Aediles: so for that time, the night parted them,

Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.

and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seeing the people in an uproar running to the market-place out of all parts of the city, they were afraid lest all the city would together by the ears: wherefore, assembling the Senate in all haste, they declared how it stood them upon, to appease the fury of the people with some gentle words, or grateful decrees in their favour: and moreover, like wise men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the commonalty; they being fallen to so great an extremity, and offering such imminent danger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to deliver some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senators that were present at this council thought this opinion best, and gave their consents unto it. Whereupon the Consuls, rising out of council, went to speak unto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacify their fury and anger, purging the Senate of all the unjust accusations laid upon them, and used great modesty in persuading them, and also in reproving the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corn, they promised there should be no disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and appearing so plainly by the great silence and still that was among them, as yielding to the Consuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seats, and said: forasmuch as the Senate yielded unto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise give place unto them: but notwithstanding, they would that Martius should come in person to answer to the articles they had devised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured the Senate to change the present state of the common-weal, and to take the sovereign authority out of the people's hands. Next, when he was sent for by authority of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driven and beaten the Aediles into the market-place before all the world, if, in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay to raise civil wars, and to set one citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that Martius against his nature should be constrained to humble himself,

Articles against Coriolanus.

and to abase his haughty and fierce mind: or else, if he continued still in his stoutness, he should incur the people's displeasure and ill-will so far, that he should never possibly win them again. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, than otherwise: as indeed they guessed, unhappily, considering Martius' nature and disposition. So Martius came, and presented himself to answer their accusations against him, and the people held their peace and gave attentive ear, to hear what he would say. But where they thought to have heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to use his wonted boldness of speaking (which of itself was very rough and unpleasant, and did more aggravate his accusation, than purge his innocency), but also gave himself in his words to thunder, and look therewithal so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coals among the people, who were in wonderful fury at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, bear, nor endure his bravery and careless boldness. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce, in the face of all the people, Martius as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commanded the Aediles to apprehend him, and carry him straight to the rock Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong down the same. When the Aediles came to lay hands upon Martius to do that they were commanded, divers of the people themselves thought it too cruel and violent a deed. The noble men also, being much troubled to see such force and rigour used, began to cry aloud, 'Help Martius'; so those that laid hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round among themselves, and some of them holding up their hands to the people besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words nor crying out could aught prevail, the tumult and hurly-burly was so great, until such time as the Tribunes' own friends and kinsmen, weighing with themselves the impossibleness to convey Martius to execution without great slaughter and murder of the nobility, did persuade and advise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinary a sort, as to put such a man to death without lawful process in law, but that they should refer the sentence of his death to the

Coriolanus' stoutness in defence of himself.

Sicinius the Tribune pronounceth sentence of death upon Martius.

free voice of the people. Then Sicinius, bethinking himself a little, did ask the patricians for what cause they took Martius out of the officers' hands that went to do execution? The patricians asked him again why they would of themselves so cruelly and wickedly put to death so noble and valiant a Roman as Martius was, and that without law or justice? 'Well then,' said Sicinius, 'if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrel or dissension against the people, for they do grant your demand, that his cause shall be heard according to the law.' Therefore said he to Martius, 'We do will and charge you to appear before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voice the people may give sentence upon you as shall please them.' The noblemen were glad then of the adjournment, and were much pleased they had gotten Martius out of this danger. In the mean space, before the third day of their next session came about, the same being kept every ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundinae*, there fell out war against the Antiates, which gave some hope to the nobility, that this adjournment would come to little effect, thinking that this war would hold them so long, as that the fury of the people against him would be well swaged, or utterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the wars. But, contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the patricians assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to Martius, and keep the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutiny again, and rise against the nobility. And there Appius Clodius (one that was taken ever as an heavy enemy to the people) did avow and protest that they would utterly abase the authority of the Senate, and destroy the common-weal, if they would suffer the common people to have authority by voices to give judgement against the nobility. On the other side again, the most ancient Senators, and such as were given to favour the common people, said, that when the people should see they had authority of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruel and fierce, but gentle and civil. More also, that it was not for contempt of nobility or the Senate, that they sought to

Coriolanus hath day given him to answer the people.

have the authority of justice in their hands, as a pre-eminence and prerogative of honour: but because they feared that themselves should be contemned and hated of the nobility. So as they were persuaded that, so soon as they gave them authority to judge by voices, so soon would they leave all envy and malice to condemn any. Martius, seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve, partly for the love and good-will the nobility did bear him, and partly for the fear they stood in of the people, asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden them with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would show how he did aspire to be King, and would prove that all his actions tended to usurp tyrannical power over Rome. Martius with that, rising up on his feet, said that thereupon he did willingly offer himself to the people, to be tried upon that accusation. And that if it were proved by him he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him: 'conditionally' (quoth he) 'that you charge me with nothing else besides, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate.' They promised they would not. Under these conditions the judgement was agreed upon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the people would proceed to give their voices by tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this means the multitude of the poor needy people (and all such rabble as had nothing to lose, and had less regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voices were numbered by the poll) than the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serve the commonwealth in their wars. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not prove he went about to make himself King, they began to broach afresh the former words that Martius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corn at mean price unto the common people, and persuading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoil he had gotten in the invading the territories of the Antiates: but had of his own authority divided it among them, who were with him in that journey. But this matter was most strange of all to Martius, looking

Coriolanus accused that he sought to be King.

least to have been burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sudden, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant, he began to fall a-praising of the soldiers that had served with him in that journey. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so loud and made such a noise, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voices of the tribes, there were three voices odd, which condemned him to be banished for life. Coriolanus banished for life.

After declaration of the sentence, the people made such joy, as they never rejoiced more for any battle they had won upon their enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocundly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate again in contrary manner were as sad and heavy, repenting themselves beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered anything whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly and outrageously have abused their authority. There needed no difference of garments, I warrant you, nor outward shows to know a plebeian from a patrician, for they were easily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the people's side looked cheerily on the matter: but he that was sad, and hung down his head, he was sure of the nobleman's side. Saving Martius alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gait did ever show himself abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune did outwardly show no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper his good-hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger, and desire of revenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people judge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorrow (as you would say) is set afire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintness of heart and natural fear. And this is the cause why the choleric man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning ague: for, when a man's heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now, that Martius was even in that taking, it appeared true

Coriolanus' constant mind in adversity.

The force of anger.

soon after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, and had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and persuaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediately to the gate of the city, accompanied with a great number of patricians that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or four of his friends only, taking nothing with him, nor requesting anything of any man. So he remained a few days in the country at his houses, turmoiled with sundry sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stir up. In the end, seeing he could resolve no way to take a profitable or honourable course, but only was pricked forward still to be revenged of the Romans: he thought to raise up some great wars against them, by their nearest neighbours. Wherepon he thought it his best way first to stir up the Volscians against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had received not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired, as their malice and desire was increased to be revenged of the Romans.

Tullus Aufidius, a great person among the Volscians.

Now in the city of Antium there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiantness, was honoured among the Volscians as a king. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and envy him, than he did all the Romans besides: because that many times in battles where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lusty courageous youths, striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. Insomuch as, besides the common quarrel between them, there was bred a marvellous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great mind, and that he above all other of the Volscians most desired revenge of the Romans, for the injuries they had done unto them: he did an act that confirmed the true words of an ancient poet, who said:

It is a thing full hard man's anger to withstand,
If it be stiffly bent to take an enterprise in hand,
For then most men will have the thing that they desire,
Although it cost their lives therefore: such force hath wicked ire.

And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire, as he thought no man could ever have known him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparel he had upon his back: and, as Homer said of Ulysses,

So did he enter into the enemy's town.

Coriolanus disguised goeth to Antium, a city of the Volscians.

It was even twilight when he entered the city of Antium, and many people met him in the streets, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius' house, and when he came thither, he got him up straight to the chimney hearth, and sat him down, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muffled over. They of the house, spying him, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For ill-favouredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certain majesty in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus, who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently from the board, and, coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martius unmuffled himself, and after he had paused a while, making no answer, he said unto him. 'If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and, seeing me, dost not perhaps believe me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessity bewray my self to be that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thy self particularly, and to all the Volscians generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I never had other benefit nor recompense of all the true and painful service I have done, and the extreme dangers I have been in, but this only surname: a good memory and witness of the malice and displeasure thou shouldst bear me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest the envy and cruelty of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor to take thy chimney hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby. For, if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard: but pricked forward with spite and desire I have to be revenged of them that thus have banished me, whom now I begin to be

Coriolanus' oration to Tullus Aufidius.

avenged on, putting my person between my enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it, as my service may be a benefit to the Volscians: promising thee, that I will fight with better good-will for all you, than I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who know the force of the enemy, than such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weary to prove fortune any more, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee to save the life of him, who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure thee.' Tullus, hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and, taking him by the hand, he said unto him. 'Stand up, O Martius, and be of good cheer, for in proffering thyself unto us thou dost us great honour: and by this means thou mayest hope also of greater things at all the Volscians' hands.' So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that present: but, within few days after, they fell to consultation together in what sort they should begin their wars. Now on the other side, the city of Rome was in marvellous uproar and discord, the nobility against the commonalty, and chiefly for Martius' condemnation and banishment. Moreover the priests, the soothsayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certain sights and wonders in the air, which they had seen, and were to be considered of: amongst the which, such a vision happened. There was a citizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of mean quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, given to a quiet life without superstition, and much less to vanity or lying. This man had a vision in his dream, in the which he thought that Jupiter appeared unto him, and commanded him to signify to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewd dancer to go before the procession; and said, the first time this vision had appeared unto him, he made no reckoning of it: and coming again another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter than before. In the end, he saw one of his sons die, who had the best nature and con-

Great dissension at Rome about Martius' banishment.

dition of all his brethren: and suddenly he himself was so taken in all his limbs, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumstance of this vision before the Senate, sitting upon his little couch or bed, whereon he was carried on men's arms: and he had no sooner reported this vision to the Senate, but he presently felt his body and limbs restored again to their former strength and use. So raising up himself upon his couch, he got up on his feet at that instant, and walked home to his house, without help of any man. The Senate, being amazed at this matter, made diligent inquiry to understand the truth: and in the end they found there was such a thing. There was one that had delivered a bondman of his that had offended him into the hands of other slaves and bondmen, and had commanded them to whip him up and down the market-place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did so martyr the poor wretch, that for the cruel smart and pain he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitiful sort. The procession by chance came by even at the same time, and many that followed it were heartily moved and offended with the sight, saying, that this was no good sight to behold, nor meet to be met in procession time. But for all this, there was nothing done: saving they blamed and rebuked him that punished his slave so cruelly. For the Romans at that time did use their bondmen very gently, because they themselves did labour with their own hands, and lived with them and among them: and therefore they did use them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gave a slave that had offended was this. They made him carry a limmer on his shoulders that is fastened to the axletree of a coach, and compelled him to go up and down in that sort amongst all their neighbours. He that had once abidden this punishment, and was seen in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in every market-town: so that no man would ever trust him after, and they called him *Furcifer*, because the Latins call the wood that runneth into the axletree of the coach, *furca*, as much to say, as a fork. Now, when Latinus had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were devising whom this unpleasant dancer should be, that went before the procession. Thereupon certain that

The Romans' manner of punishing their slaves.

Whereof *Furcifer* came.

stood by remembered the poor slave that was so cruelly whipped through the market-place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made them remember it was the strange and rare manner of his punishment. The priests hereupon were repaired unto for their advice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slave. So they caused the slave's master to be punished, and began again a new procession, and all other shows and sights in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainly, how King Numa did wisely ordain all other ceremonies concerning devotion to the gods, and specially this custom which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any divine service, or matter of religion, an herald ever goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commanded wholly to dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other business and matters aside: knowing well enough, that whatsoever most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained unto it. But the Romans did ever use to begin again their sacrifices, processions, plays, and such like shows done in honour of the gods, not only upon such an occasion, but upon lighter causes than that. As when they went on procession through the city, and did carry the images of their gods and such other like holy relics upon open hallowed coaches or charrets, called in Latin *Tensae*: one of the coach horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also the coachman took the reins of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begun again anew. Of later time also, they did renew and begin a sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same, so holy and devout were they to the gods. Now Tullus and Martius had secret conference with the greatest personages of the city of Antium, declaring unto them, that now they had good time offered them to make war with the Romans, while they were in dissension one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to break the league, considering that they were sworn to keep peace for two years. Howbeit, shortly after, the Romans gave them great occasion to make war with them. For on a holy day, com-

A ceremony instituted by King Numa touching religion.

The superstition of the Romans.

Tensae.

The Romans gave the Volscians occasion of wars.

mon plays being kept in Rome, upon some suspicion or false report they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volscians should avoid out of Rome before sunset. Some think this was a craft and deceit of Martius, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls, to accuse the Volscians falsely, advertising them how they had made a conspiracy to set upon them, whilst they were busy in seeing these games, and also to set their city afire. This open proclamation made all the Volscians more offended with the Romans, than ever they were before: and Tullus, aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volscians against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadors to Rome, to summon them to deliver their lands and towns again which they had taken from them in times past, or to look for present wars. The Romans, hearing this, were marvellously nettled: and made no other answer but thus: if the Volscians be the first that begin war, the Romans will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon return of the Volscians' ambassadors, and delivery of the Romans' answer, Tullus caused an assembly general to be made of the Volscians, and concluded to make war upon the Romans. This done, Tullus did counsel them to take Martius into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of anything past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more service in fighting for them, than ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Martius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no less eloquent in tongue, than warlike in show: and declared himself both expert in wars, and wise with valiantness. Thus he was joined in commission with Tullus as general of the Volscians, having absolute authority between them to follow and pursue the wars. But Martius, fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volscians would rob him of the mean he had to execute his purpose and intent, left order with the rulers and chief of the city, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the camp. Then he with the lightest soldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stale away upon the sudden, and marched with all speed, and entered the territories of Rome, before the Romans heard any news of his coming.

Martius Coriolanus' crafty accusation of the Volscians.

Coriolanus chosen general of the Volscians, with Tullus Aufidius, against the Romans.

Coriolanus invadeth the territories of the Romans.

Insomuch as the Volscians found such spoil in the fields, as they had more than they could spend in their camp, and were weary to drive and carry away that they had. Howbeit the gain of the spoil and the hurt they did to the Romans in this invasion was the least part of his intent. For his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissension between the nobility and the commonalty: and, to draw that on, he was very careful to keep the noble men's lands and goods safe from harm and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt anything of the noble men's. This made greater stir and broil between the nobility and the people than was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because they had so unjustly banished a man of so great valour and power. The people on the other side accused the nobility, how they had procured Martius to make these wars, to be revenged of them: because it pleased them to see their goods burnt and spoiled before their eyes, whilst themselves were well at ease, and did behold the people's losses and misfortunes, and knowing their own goods safe and out of danger: and how the war was not made against the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keep that they had in safety. Now Martius having done this first exploit (which made the Volscians bolder, and less fearful of the Romans,) brought home all the army again, without loss of any man. After their whole army (which was marvellous great, and very forward to service,) was assembled in one camp, they agreed to leave part of it for garrison in the country about, and the other part should go on, and make the war upon the Romans. So Martius bade Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martius was no less valiant than himself, and how he ever had better fortune and good-hap in all battles, than himself had. Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that should make the wars abroad: and himself would keep home, to provide for the safety of the cities and of his country, and to furnish the camp also of all necessary provision abroad. So Martius, being stronger than before, went first of all unto the city of Cerceii, inhabited by the Romans, who willingly yielded themselves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he

A fine device to make the commonalty suspect the nobility.

Great heart-burning betwixt the nobility and the people.

entered the country of the Latins, imagining the Romans would fight with him there to defend the Latins, who were their confederates, and had many times sent unto the Romans for their aid. But on the one side the people of Rome were very ill willing to go: and on the other side the Consuls, being upon their going out of their office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time: so that the ambassadors of the Latins returned home again, and did no good. Then Martius did besiege their cities, and having taken by force the towns of the Tolerinians, Vicanians, Pedanians, and the Bolanians, who made resistance, he sacked all their goods, and took them prisoners. Such as did yield themselves willingly unto him, he was as careful as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receive no damage by his will, he removed his camp as far from their confines as he could. Afterwards he took the city of Bolae by assault, being about an hundred furlong from Rome, where he had a marvellous great spoil, and put every man to the sword that was able to carry weapon. The other Volscians that were appointed to remain in garrison for defence of their country, hearing this good news, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselves, and ran to Martius' camp, saying they did acknowledge no other captain but him. Hereupon his fame ran through all Italy, and every one praised him for a valiant captain, for that, by change of one man for another, such and so strange events fell out in the State. In this while, all went still to wrack at Rome. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to hear of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious words, the nobility against the people, and the people against the nobility. Until they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had laid siege to the city of Lavinium, in the which were all the temples and images of the gods their protectors, and from whence came first their ancient original, for that Aeneas at his first arrival into Italy did build that city. Then fell there out a marvellous sudden change of mind among the people, and far more strange and contrary in the nobility. For the people thought good to repeal the condemnation and exile of Martius. The Senate, assembled upon it, would in no case yield to that. Who either did it of a selfwill to

Lavinium built by Aeneas.

be contrary to the people's desire: or because Martius should not return through the grace and favour of the people. Or else, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would set upon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would show himself an open enemy besides unto his country: notwithstanding the most part of them took the wrong they had done him in marvellous ill part, and as if the injury had been done unto themselves. Report being made of the Senate's resolution, the people found themselves in a strait: for they could authorize and confirm nothing by their voices, unless it had been first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martius, hearing this stir about him, was in a greater rage with them than before: insomuch as he raised his siege incontinently before the city of Lavinium, and, going towards Rome, lodged his camp within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called Cluiliae. His encamping so near Rome did put all the whole city in a wonderful fear: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissension betwixt the nobility and the people. For there was no consul, senator, nor magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home again of Martius. When they saw the women in a marvellous fear, running up and down the city: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wise or hardy to provide for their safety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home Martius again to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate, on the contrary part, were in marvellous great fault to be angry and in choler with him, when it stood them upon rather to have gone out and entreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadors unto him, to let him understand how his countrymen did call him home again, and restored him to all his goods, and besought him to deliver them from this war. The ambassadors that were sent were Martius' familiar friends and acquaintances, who looked at the least for a courteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinsman. Howbeit they found nothing less. For, at their coming, they were brought through the camp to the place where he was set in his chair of state, with a marvellous and an unspeakable majesty, having the

The Romans send ambassadors to Coriolanus to treat of peace.

chiefest men of the Volscians about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could devise, and with all modest countenance and behaviour agreeable for the same. When they had done their message, for the injury they had done him he answered them very hotly, and in great choler: but, as general of the Volscians, he willed them to restore unto the Volscians all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former wars: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedom of Rome, as they had before given to the Latins. For otherwise they had no other mean to end this war, if they did not grant these honest and just conditions of peace. Thereupon he gave them thirty days' respite to make him answer. So the ambassadors returned straight to Rome, and Martius forthwith departed with his army out of the territories of the Romans. This was the first matter wherewith the Volscians (that most envied Martius' glory and authority) did charge Martius with. Among those, Tullus was chief: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of Martius, yet the common fault and imperfection of man's nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his own reputation blemished through Martius' great fame and honour, and so himself to be less esteemed of the Volscians, than he was before. This fell out the more, because every man honoured Martius, and thought he only could do all, and that all other governors and captains must be content with such credit and authority, as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they derived all their first accusations and secret murmurings against Martius. For private captains, conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gave it out, that the removing of the camp was a manifest treason, not of the towns, nor forts, nor of arms, but of time and occasion, which was a loss of great importance, because it was that which in treason might both loose and bind all, and preserve the whole. Now Martius having given the Romans thirty days' respite for their answer, and specially because the wars have not accustomed to make any great changes in less space of time than that: he thought it good yet, not to lie asleep and idle all the while, but went and destroyed

The first occasion of the Volscians' envy to Coriolanus.

the lands of the enemy's allies, and took seven great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the Romans durst not once put themselves into the field, to come to their aid and help: they were so faint-hearted, so mistrustful, and loth besides to make wars. Insomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralytic and loosed of their limbs and members: as those which through the palsy have lost all their sense and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, Martius being returned into the dominions of the Romans again with all his army, they sent another ambassade unto him, to pray peace, and the remove of the Volscians out of their country: that afterwards they might with better leisure fall to such agreements together, as should be thought most meet and necessary. For the Romans were no men that would ever yield for fear. But if he thought the Volscians had any ground to demand reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably ask should be granted unto by the Romans, who of themselves would willingly yield to reason, conditionally that they did lay down arms. Martius to that answered that as general of the Volscians he would reply nothing unto it: but yet as a Roman citizen he would counsel them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should return again within three days, delivering up the articles agreed upon, which he had first delivered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more give them assurance or safe conduct to return again into his camp with such vain and frivolous messages. When the ambassadors were returned to Rome, and had reported Martius' answer to the Senate, their city being in extreme danger, and as it were in a terrible storm or tempest, they threw out (as the common proverb saith) their holy anker. For then they appointed all the bishops, priests, ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the augurs or soothsayers, which foreshow things to come by observation of the flying of birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophesying and divination amongst the Romans), to go to Martius apparelled as when they do their sacrifices: and first to entreat him to leave off war, and then that he would speak to his countrymen, and conclude peace with the Volscians. Martius suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he enter-

Another ambassade sent to Coriolanus.

The priests and soothsayers sent to Coriolanus.

tain them or speak more courteously to them, than he did the first time that they came unto him, saving only that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace under the first conditions offered, or else to receive war. When all this goodly rabble of superstition and priests were returned, it was determined in council that none should go out of the gates of the city, and that they should watch and ward upon the walls, to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them: referring themselves and all their hope to time and fortune's uncertain favour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the city was full of tumult, fear, and marvellous doubt what would happen: until at the length there fell out such a like matter, as Homer oft-times said they would least have thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldom, Homer saith, and crieth out in this sort:

The goddess Pallas she, with her fair glistering eyes,
Did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him so devise.

And in another place:

But sure some god hath tane out of the people's mind
Both wit and understanding eke, and have therewith assigned
Some other simple spirit instead thereof to bide,
That so they might their doings all for lack of wit misguide.

And in another place:

The people of themselves did either it consider,
Or else some god instructed them, and so they joined together.

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters unpossible, and fables of no likelihood or troth, unto man's reason, freewill, or judgement: which indeed is not his meaning. But things true and likely he maketh to depend of our own freewill and reason. For he oft speaketh these words:

I have thought it in my noble heart:

And in another place:

Achilles angry was, and sorry for to hear
Him so to say: his heavy breast was fraught with pensive fear.

And again in another place:

Bellerophon (she) could not move with her fair tongue;
So honest and so virtuous he was the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by secret inspirations and motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choice and freedom of will, but that he doth move it: neither that he doth work desire in us, but objecteth to our minds certain imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage and hope of success. For either we must say that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other means have they to help and further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor move not our feet and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our mind, from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto or carried away by such objects and reasons as God offereth unto it. Now the Roman ladies and gentlewomen did visit all the temples and gods of the same, to make their prayers unto them: but the greatest ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of Jupiter Capitoline, among which troop by name was Valeria, Publicola's own sister, the self same Publicola, who did such notable service to the Romans, both in peace and wars, and was dead also certain years before, as we have declared in his life. His sister Valeria was greatly honoured and reverenced among all the Romans: and did so modestly and wisely behave her self, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came of. So she suddenly fell into such a fancy as we have rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I think) taken hold of a noble device. Whereupon she rose, and the other ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius' mother: and, coming in to her, found her and Martius' wife her daughter-in-law set together, and having

Valeria, Publicola's sister.

Volumnia, Martius' mother.

her husband Martius' young children in her lap. Now all the train of these ladies sitting in a ring round about her, Valeria first began to speak in this sort unto her. 'We ladies are come to visit you ladies (my lady Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commandment of other magistrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god above. Who, having taken compassion and pity of our prayers, hath moved us to come unto you, to entreat you in a matter, as well beneficial for us, as also for the whole citizens in general: but to your selves in especial (if it please you to credit me), and shall redound to our more fame and glory, than the daughters of the Sabines obtained in former age, when they procured loving peace, in stead of hateful war, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on, good ladies, and let us go all together unto Martius, to entreat him to take pity upon us, and also to report the troth unto him, how much you are bound unto the citizens: who notwithstanding they have sustained great hurt and losses by him, yet they have not hitherto sought revenge upon your persons by any discourteous usage, neither ever conceived any such thought or intent against you, but do deliver you safe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace or clemency from him.' When Valeria had spoken this unto them, all the other ladies together with one voice confirmed that she had said. Then Volumnia in this sort did answer her. 'My good ladies, we are partakers with you of the common misery and calamity of our country, and yet our grief exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune, to feel the loss of my son Martius' former valiancy and glory, and to see his person environed now with our enemies in arms, rather to see him forthcoming and safe kept, than of any love to defend his person. But yet the greatest grief of our heaped mishaps is to see our poor country brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preservation thereof is now unfortunately cast upon us simple women: because we know not what account he will make of us, since he hath cast from him all care of his natural country and commonweal, which heretofore he hath holden more dear and precious than either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithstanding, if ye think we can do good, we will willingly

The words of Valeria unto Volumnia and Virgilia.

The answer of Volumnia to the Roman ladies.

do what you will have us. Bring us to him I pray you. For, if we cannot prevail, we may yet die at his feet, as humble suitors for the safety of our country.' Her answer ended, she took her daughter-in-law and Martius' children with her, and, being accompanied with all the other Roman ladies, they went in troop together unto the Volscians' camp: whom when they saw, they of themselves did both pity and reverence her, and there was not a man among them that once durst say a word unto her. Now was Martius set then in his chair of state, with all the honours of a general, and, when he had spied the women coming afar off, he marvelled what the matter meant: but afterwards, knowing his wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to persist in his obstinate and inflexible rancour. But overcome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to see them, his heart would not serve him to tarry their coming to his chair, but, coming down in haste, he went to meet them, and first he kissed his mother, and embraced her a pretty while, then his wife and little children. And nature so wrought with him, that the tears fell from his eyes, and he could not keep himself from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had been violently carried with the fury of a most swift-running stream. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his mother Volumnia would begin to speak to him, he called the chiefest of the council of the Volscians to hear what she would say. Then she spake in this sort.

The oration of Volumnia unto her son Coriolanus.

'If we held our peace (my son) and determined not to speak, the state of our poor bodies and present sight of our raiment would easily bewray to thee what life we have led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad. But think now with thy self, how much more unfortunately than all the women living we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spiteful fortune hath made most fearful to us: making my self to see my son, and my daughter here, her husband, besieging the walls of his native country. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversity and misery, to pray unto the gods, and to call to them for aid, is the only thing which plungeth us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory for our country,

and for safety of thy life also: but a world of grievous curses, yea more than any mortal enemy can heap upon us, are forcibly wrapped up in our prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo the one of the two: either to lose the person of thy self, or the nurse of their native country. For my self (my son), I am determined not to tarry till fortune in my lifetime do make an end of this war. For if I cannot persuade thee, rather to do good unto both parties, than to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring love and nature before the malice and calamity of wars: thou shalt see, my son, and trust unto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy country, but thy foot shall tread upon thy mother's womb, that brought thee first into this world. And I may not defer to see the day, either that my son be led prisoner in triumph by his natural countrymen, or that he himself do triumph of them, and of his natural country. For if it were so, that my request tended to save thy country in destroying the Volscians, I must confess, thou wouldst hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. For, as to destroy thy natural country, it is altogether unmeet and unlawful: so were it not just, and less honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my only demand consisteth, to make a gaol-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and safety both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volscians. For it shall appear that, having victory in their hands, they have of special favour granted us singular graces, peace, and amity, albeit themselves have no less part of both than we. Of which good, if so it came to pass, thy self is the only author, and so hast thou the only honour. But if it fail, and fall out contrary, thy self alone deservedly shall carry the shameful reproach and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war be uncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain, that, if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou reap of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled the plague and destroyer of thy country. And if fortune also overthrow thee, then the world will say that, through desire to revenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever undone thy good friends, who did most lovingly and courteously receive thee.' Martius gave good ear unto his mother's words, without

interrupting her speech at all: and, after she had said what she would, he held his peace a pretty while, and answered not a word. Hereupon she began again to speak unto him, and said. 'My son, why dost thou not answer me? Dost thou think it good altogether to give place unto thy choler and desire of revenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty for thee to grant thy mother's request, in so weighty a cause? Dost thou take it honourable for a noble man to remember the wrongs and injuries done him, and dost not in like case think it an honest noble man's part to be thankful for the goodness that parents do show to their children, acknowledging the duty and reverence they ought to bear unto them? No man living is more bound to show himself thankful in all parts and respects, than thy self: who so unnaturally showeth all ingratitude. Moreover (my son) thou hast sorely taken of thy country, exacting grievous payments upon them, in revenge of the injuries offered thee: besides, thou hast not hitherto showed thy poor mother any courtesy. And therefore, it is not only honest, but due unto me, that without compulsion I should obtain my so just and reasonable request of thee. But, since by reason I cannot persuade thee to it, to what purpose do I defer my last hope?' And with these words, her self, his wife, and children fell down upon their knees before him. Martius, seeing that, could refrain no longer, but went straight and lift her up, crying out: 'Oh mother, what have you done to me?' And holding her hard by the right hand, 'Oh mother,' said he, 'you have won a happy victory for your country, but mortal and unhappy for your son: for I see myself vanquished by you alone.' These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his mother and wife, and then let them return again to Rome, for so they did request him: and so, remaining in camp that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homeward into the Volscians' country again: who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had done. Other, being well pleased that peace should be made, said that neither the one nor the other deserved blame nor reproach. Other, though they misliked that was done, did not think him an ill man for that he did, but said he was not to be blamed, though he yielded to such a forcible

Coriolanus' compassion of his mother.

Coriolanus withdraweth his army from home.

extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commandment, more for respect of his worthiness and valiancy than for fear of his authority. Now the citizens of Rome plainly showed in what fear and danger their city stood of this war, when they were delivered. For so soon as the watch upon the walls of the city perceived the Volscians' camp to remove, there was not a temple in the city but was presently set open, and full of men wearing garlands of flowers upon their heads sacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do upon the news of some great obtained victory. And this common joy was yet more manifestly showed by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their ladies. For they were all throughly persuaded, and did certainly believe, that the ladies only were cause of the saving of the city, and delivering themselves from the instant danger of the war. Whereupon the Senate ordained that the magistrates, to gratify and honour these ladies, should grant them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of Fortune of the women, for the building whereof they offered themselves to defray the whole charge of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the service of the gods. Nevertheless, the Senate, commending their goodwill and forwardness, ordained that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the city. Notwithstanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune, which the Romans say did speak as they offered her up in the temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirm, that she spake these words: 'Ladies, ye have devoutly offered me up.' Moreover, that she spake that twice together, making us to believe things that never were, and are not to be credited. For, to see images that seem to sweat or weep, or to put forth any humour red or bloody, it is not a thing unpossible. For wood and stone do commonly receive certain moisture, whereof is engendered an humour, which do yield of themselves, or do take of the air, many sorts and kinds of spots and colours: by which signs and tokens it is not amiss, we think, that the gods sometimes do warn men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues do sometimes put forth

The Temple of Fortune built for the women.

The image of Fortune spake to the ladies at Rome.

Of the sweating and voices of images.

sounds like unto sighs or mourning, when in the midst or bottom of the same there is made some violent separation, or breaking asunder of things blown or devised therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor soul should have any direct or exquisite words formed in it by express voice, that is altogether unpossible. For the soul nor god himself can distinctly speak without a body, having necessary organs and instruments meet for the parts of the same, to form and utter distinct words. But where stories many times do force us to believe a thing reported to be true by many grave testimonies, there we must say that it is some passion contrary to our five natural senses, which, being begotten in the imaginative part or understanding, draweth an opinion unto itself, even as we do in our sleeping. For many times we think we hear that we do not hear: and we imagine we see that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to think on heavenly things, so as they can no way be drawn from believing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their belief upon. That is, the omnipotency of God, which is wonderful, and hath no manner of resemblance or likeliness of proportion unto ours, but is altogether contrary as touching our nature, our moving, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do anything unpossible to us, or do bring forth and devise things without man's common reach and understanding, we must not therefore think it unpossible at all. For if in other things he is far contrary to us, much more in his works and secret operations he far passeth all the rest: but the most part of God's doings, as Heraclitus saith, for lack of faith are hidden and unknown unto us. Now, when Martius was returned again into the city of Antium from his voyage, Tullus, that hated and could no longer abide him for the fear he had of his authority, sought divers means to make him out of the way, thinking if he let slip that present time he should never recover the like and fit occasion again. Wherefore Tullus, having procured many other of his confederacy, required Martius might be deposed from his estate, to render up account to the Volscians of his charge and government. Martius, fearing to become a private man again under Tullus being general (whose authority was greater otherwise,

Of the omnipotency of God.

Tullus Aufidius seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

than any other among all the Volscians), answered: he was willing to give up his charge, and would resign it into the hands of the lords of the Volscians, if they did all command him, as by all their commandment he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give up an account unto the people, if they would tarry the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common council, in which assembly there were certain orators appointed, that stirred up the common people against him: and when they had told their tales, Martius rose up to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a marvellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reverence they bare unto his valiantness, they quieted themselves, and gave still audience to allege with leisure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honestest men of the Antiates, and who most rejoiced in peace, showed by their countenance that they would hear him willingly, and judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he did let him speak, he would prove his innocency to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good service he had done to the people of the Volscians did win him more favour, than these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him, for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they took not the city of Rome, if they had not been very near taking of it by means of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarry for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy began to cry out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a traitor to usurp tyrannical power over the tribe of the Volscians, who would not yield up his state and authority. And, in saying these words, they all fell upon him, and killed him in the market-place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clear case, that this murder was not generally consented unto of the most part of the Volscians: for men came out of all parts to honour his body, and did honourably bury him, setting out his tomb with great store of armour

Coriolanus murdered in the city of Antium. Coriolanus' funerals.

and spoils, as the tomb of a worthy person and great captain. The Romans, understanding of his death, showed no other honour or malice, saving that they granted the ladies the request they made, that they might mourn ten months for him: and that was the full time they used to wear blacks for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius' order, who stablished the same, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being dead, the whole state of the Volscians heartily wished him alive again. For first of all they fell out with the Aequians (who were their friends and confederates) touching pre-eminence and place: and this quarrel grew on so far between them, that frays and murders fell out upon it one with another. After that the Romans overcame them in battle, in which Tullus was slain in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sword: so that they were compelled to accept most shameful conditions of peace, in yielding themselves subject unto the conquerors, and promising to be obedient at their commandment.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

Tullus Aufidius slain in battle.

THE LIFE OF
JULIUS CAESAR

AT what time Sulla was made lord of all, he would have had Caesar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator: but, when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her jointure away from him. The cause of Caesar's ill-will unto Sulla was by means of marriage: for Marius the elder married his father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Caesar and he were cousin-germans. Sulla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Caesar: but he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the people for the priesthoodship that was void, when he had scant any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Sulla's means, that secretly was against him. Who when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sulla told them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Caesar, understanding that, stale out of Rome, and hid himself a long time in the country of the Sabines, wandering still from place to place. But one day, being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sulla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Caesar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the seaside and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia to go unto King Nicomedes. When he had been with him a while, he took sea again, and was taken by pirates about the Isle of Pharmacusa: for those pirates kept all upon that sea-coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Caesar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had

Caesar joined with Cinna and Marius.

Caesar took sea and went unto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Caesar taken of pirates.

taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among these thieves of the Cilicians (which are the cruellest butchers in the world), with one of his friends, and two of his slaves only: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that, when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he eight-and-thirty days among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And other while also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts, and, laughing, threatened them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So, when his ransom was come from the city of Miletus, they being paid their money, and he again set at liberty: he then presently armed, and manned out certain ships out of the haven of Miletus, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anker in the same island. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of Pergamum, and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Praetor of that country. But this Praetor, having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it, answered, that he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Caesar, leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamum, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the isle he would do, when they thought he did but jest. Afterwards, when Sulla's power began to decay, Caesar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto Rhodes, to study there a time under Apollonius the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero

Junius, praetor of Asia.

was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported that Caesar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people, and, besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore, in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier with the eloquence of an excellent orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill-behaviour in the government of his province, and he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Caesar, to requite the goodwill of the Grecians, which they had showed him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Praetor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the Tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians. Now Caesar immediately won many men's goodwills at Rome, through his eloquence in pleading of their causes: and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein than was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies, judging that this favour of the common people would soon quail, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense, suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to

Caesar's eloquence.

Caesar loved hospitality.

Caesar a follower of the people.

grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in sight it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of anything, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness. Thereupon Cicero, like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first man that, mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habit of outward courtesy and familiarity. 'And yet,' said he, 'when I consider how finely he combeth his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only: my mind gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the commonwealth.' But this was long time after that. The first show and proof of the love and good-will which the people did bear unto Caesar was when he sued to be Tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen), standing against Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second, and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For, being her nephew, he made a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to show forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seen after Sulla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For, when there were some that cried out upon Caesar for doing of it, the people on the other side kept a stir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands, and thanked him for that he had brought as it were out of hell the remembrance of Marius' honour again into Rome, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where it had been an ancient custom of long time that the Romans used to make funeral orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women, Caesar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's

Cicero's judgement of Caesar.

The love of the people in Rome unto Caesar.

Caesar chosen *Tribunus militum.*

Caesar made the funeral oration at the death of his aunt Julia.

Caesar the first that praised his wife in funeral oration.

good-wills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his wife, he was made treasurer under Antistius Vetus Praetor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came to be Praetor, he made his son to be chosen treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great. Now for that he was very liberal in expenses, buying (as some thought) but a vain and short glory of the favour of the people (where indeed he bought good cheap the greatest things that could be), some say that, before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was grown in debt to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the work for the highway going unto Appius, he disbursed a great sum of his own money towards the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Aedilis, for that he did show the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousness in the sports and common feasts which he made to delight them withal, (and did as it were drown all the stately shows of others in the like, that had gone before him), he so pleased the people, and won their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sulla, which was very strong and of great power, and the other of Marius, which then was under foot and durst not show itself. But Caesar, because he would renew it again, even at that time when, he being Aedilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs, and those he set up one night within the Capitol. The next morning, when every man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, showing by the inscriptions that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbrians, every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran straight through all the city, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Caesar, and said it was a tyranny which he meant to

Caesar made Quaestor.

Pompeia, Caesar's third wife.

Caesar's prodigality.

Caesar accused to make a rebellion in the state.

set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good-wills, which he had set out in the stately shows of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, showed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands: insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks for very joy, when they saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Caesar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kinred of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Luctatius, one of the greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Caesar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Caesar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Caesar at that time answered him so that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardily he should give place to no man, and that through the good-will of the people he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city. At that time the chief bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of greatest authority, (Isauricus and Catulus), contended for his room: Caesar, notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Caesar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Caesar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that, to maintain the suit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Caesar, weeping, kissed her, and said: 'Mother, this day thou shalt see thy son chief bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome.' In fine, when the voices of the

The death of Metellus, chief bishop of Rome.

people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Caesar won the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray Caesar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the empire of Rome, he scaped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom whether Caesar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero, being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Caesar, gave sentence they should die: Caesar then rising up to speak made an oration (penned and premeditated before), and said that it was neither lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawful indictment and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quietly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speak after him did approve it, but such also as had spoken to the contrary before revoked their opinion and stuck to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Caesar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Caesar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men, which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say that Curio covered Caesar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero

Caesar made chief bishop of Rome.

Caesar suspected to be confederate with Catiline in his conspiracy.

Caesar went about to deliver the conspirators.

Cato's oration against Caesar.

self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But, if that were true, I marvel why Cicero did not put it into his book he wrote of his Consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Caesar, only for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Caesar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the council house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then, fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Caesar, and did also move the people to stir, did persuade the Senate to make a frank distribution of corn unto them for a month. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads. This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Caesar's force and power, at such time as he was made Praetor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth, but contrarily he himself had a great misfortune fell in his own house, which was this. There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person as any was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia Caesar's wife, who misliked not withal: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that Aurelia (Caesar's mother), an honest gentlewoman, had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they call the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call Gynaeceia, to wit, the goddess of women. Her the Phrygians do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying that she is King Midas' mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of wood married unto god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the

The love of P. Clodius unto Pompeia Caesar's wife.

The good goddess, what she was, and her sacrifices.

mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine twigs and leaves of vine branches, and also they make, as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house itself where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Praetor or Consul) and all his men and the boys in the house do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and music. Pompeia, Caesar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius, who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chambermaid that was made privy unto it, she left him, and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chambermaid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light, and was by chance met withal by one of Aurelia's maids, who, taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia's maid, knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things, and, having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom he hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out, and known of the women,

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess.

they thrust him out of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villany and that he deserved, not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indict him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and the Senate, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his own sister, which was married unto Lucullus. Notwithstanding, the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Caesar presently put his wife away, and thereupon, being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Caesar, why then he had put away his wife: 'Because I will not,' said he, 'that my wife be so much as suspected.' And some say that Caesar spake truly as he thought. But others think that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgement, for the fear they stood one way of the danger of the common people if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion of the other side of the nobility if they did quit him. The government of the province of Spain being fallen unto Caesar for that he was Praetor, his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Caesar, being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Caesar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents: whereupon they suffered Caesar to depart to the government of his province. In his journey it is reported that,

Clodius accused for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

Caesar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quit by the judges for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

Caesar Praetor of Spain.

Crassus surety for Caesar to his creditors.

passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and yet poor cottages. There, his friends that did accompany him asked him merrily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Caesar, speaking in good earnest, answered: 'I cannot tell that,' said he, 'but for my part, I had rather be the chiefest man here, than the second person in Rome.' Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, 'Do ye not think', said he, 'that I have good cause to be heavy, when King Alexander, being no older than my self is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries: and that I hitherunto have done nothing worthy of my self?' Therefore, when he was come into Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns more of footmen unto the other twenty which he had before. Then, marching forward against the Calaïcans and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanus, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law and strife betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves: and that the debtors should have the third part to themselves to live withal. He, having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich spoils, who called him Imperator, to say, sovereign captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour of triumph should remain a while without the city, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship should of necessity be there in person: Caesar coming unhappily at that very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the

Caesar's acts in Spain.

Caesar's order betwixt the creditor and the debtor.

Caesar's soldiers called him Imperator.

Senate to do him that favour, that, being absent, he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an express law forbidding the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged many of the Senators (being won by Caesar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration until night. Caesar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship: and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato only. His device was this. Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome, being at jar together, Caesar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtly (unwares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Caesar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war: but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophesied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man: but afterwards they found him a wiser man, than happy in his counsel. Thus Caesar being brought unto the assembly of the election, in the midst of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there chosen Consul, with Calpurnius Bibulus, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now, when he was entered into his office, he began to put forth laws meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people, than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing of corn to every citizen, *gratis*, to please them withal. But, when the noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he desiring no better occasion began to cry out, and to protest, that by the overhardness and austerity of the Senate they drave him against his will to lean unto the people: and thereupon, having Crassus on the one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did give their consent unto the laws which he had put forth. They both

Caesar reconcileth Pompey and Crassus together.

Cato's foresight and prophecy.

Caesar's first consulship with Calpurnius Bibulus.

Caesar's laws.

Lex agraria.

answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened him with force of sword to let him. Crassus gave him his word, he would. Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his sword and target both, against them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have reverenced: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced. Then Caesar, because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before unto Servilius Caepio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's daughter, the which was sure also unto Faustus the son of Sulla. And shortly after also, Caesar self did marry Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the empire of Rome, by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselves through those wicked marriages the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calpurnius Bibulus, fellow Consul with Caesar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato in the market-place and assembly: he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the market-place with soldiers, and by open force authorised the laws which Caesar made in the behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Caesar had Gaul on this side and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria, with four legions granted him for five years. Then Cato standing up to speak against it, Caesar bade his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Caesar perceiving then, that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also, for

Caesar married his daughter Julia unto Pompey.

Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey by force of arms authorised Caesar's laws.

Caesar sent Cato to prison.

the reverence they bare unto Cato's virtues, were ashamed, and went away with silence: he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him the rest durst not come to council, because they were afraid of his soldiers. Caesar answered him again: 'And why then, dost not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear?' Considius replied, 'Because my age taketh away fear from me: for, having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further.' The shamefullest part that Caesar played while he was Consul seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Caesar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy. All these things they say he did, before the wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first), made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiantest generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sulla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey self,

Caesar by Clodius drave Cicero out of Italy.

Caesar a valiant soldier and a skilful captain.

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens:

it will appear that Caesar's prowess and deeds of arms did excel them altogether. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars: another, in enlarging the realms and countries which he joined unto the empire of Rome: another, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame: another, in the rudeness and austere nature of

men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil: another, in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed upon them that served under him in those wars: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battles he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain in battle. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns: he conquered three hundred several nations: and, having before him in battle thirty hundred thousand soldiers, at sundry times he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (where otherwise they were no more than other men in any private quarrel) if Caesar's honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves, and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius: who, in a battle by sea before the city of Marseilles, boarding one of his enemies ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword, but yet he forsook not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, and made them fly, so that he won their ship from them. And Cassius Scaeva also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turn his back, and at the length saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marish or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely assail them there: Caesar then standing to view the battle, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away. Then this soldier, being the hindmost man

Caesar's conquests in Gaul.

The love and respect of Caesar's soldiers unto him.

The wonderful valiantness of Acilius, Cassius Scaeva, and divers others of Caesar's soldiers.

of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming, and half afoot, in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. Caesar, wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Caesar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Africk also, Scipio having taken one of Caesar's ships, and Granius Petronius aboard on her amongst other, not long before chosen treasurer: he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again: that Caesar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives: and with those words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through. Now Caesar's self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, showing thereby, that he did not heap up riches in the wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him afire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more than his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness, (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain): but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but, contrarily, took the pains of war as a medicine to cure his sick body, fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the daytime, he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles,

Granius Petronius.

Caesar had the falling sickness.

and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in his coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the river of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth that, holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and, as Oppius writeth, more than two at a time. And it is reported, that Caesar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Caesar made of his diet, this example doth prove it. Caesar supping one night in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served sperage to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of salad oil. He simply ate it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. Another time as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: 'Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons.' And thereupon he caused Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing of the house. The first war that Caesar made with the Gauls was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians, who, having set fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before: unto whom for valiantness they gave no place, and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were a hundred four-score and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was

The temperance of Caesar in his diet.

Caesar's civility not to blame his friend.

The Tigurinians slain by Labienus. Arar fl.

not Caesar himself that overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus his lieutenant, that overthrew them by the river of Arar. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Caesar, perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battle ray. When one brought him his horse to get up on which he used in battle, he said unto them: 'When I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get up on him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge.' Therewith he marched forward afoot, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that were in battle. But the greatest trouble he had was to distress their camp, and to break their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battle did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and children also fighting for their lives to the death were all slain, and the battle was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For, of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battle, he gathered together again above a hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the river of Rhine, and occupy that country lying void. The second war he made was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before he himself had caused Ariovistus their king to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly that, having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Caesar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the wars with him, as only for their pleasure and gain: he called them to council, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith they had such womanish faint hearts

Caesar refused his horse when he fought a battle.

The Helvetians slain by Caesar.

Rhenus fl.

Caesar made war with King Ariovistus.

to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent their lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good-will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled, when he saw Caesar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans, where they thought, and made account, that they durst not have abidden them: and therefore, nothing mistrusting it would have come so to pass, he wondered much at Caesar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in a maze withal. But much more did their courages fall, by reason of the foolish women prophesiers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight until the new moon. Caesar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than, losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battle, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlong, even unto the river of Rhine: and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit Ariovistus, flying with speed, got over the river of Rhine, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain four-score thousand persons at this battle. After this exploit, Caesar left his army amongst the Sequans to winter there: and he himself in the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. For there the river called Rubicon divideth the rest of Italy

The wise women of Germany, how they did foretell things to come.

King Ariovistus overthrown by Caesar.

from Gaul on this side the Alps. Caesar, lying there, did practise to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him: unto whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now, during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Caesar interchangeably did conquer the Gauls with the weapons of the Romans, and won the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Caesar being advertised that the Belgae (which were the warlikest men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and over-running the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans.

The Belgae overcome by Caesar.

So he gave them battle, and, they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them which were in a troop together, and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes afoot upon their dead bodies, the rivers were so full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the seaside, and were next neighbours unto the ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgae. They, dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children, and goods into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could: and, being about the number of six-score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Caesar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romans, and, compassing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Caesar self taken his shield on his arm, and, flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also, seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battle, and broken the ranks of their enemies: there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But, taking example of Caesar's valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not

Nervii the stoutest warriors of all the Belgae.

make the Nervians fly, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner slain in the field. It is written that of three-score thousand fighting men there escaped only but five hundred: and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans but three saved. The Senate understanding it at Rome ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was obtained. Because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him: and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous. For, when Caesar had set his affairs at a stay in Gaul on the other side of the Alps, he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter-time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome at his pleasure. For, not only they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen magistrates by means of Caesar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office did all that they could to increase Caesar's power and greatness: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility went unto Luca unto him. As Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Praetor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in Spain. Insomuch that there were at one time six-score sergeants carrying rods and axes before the magistrates: and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that Caesar should have money again delivered him to pay his army, and, besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men. For they themselves that had taken so much money of Caesar persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea, to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Favonius, that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not

The Nervii slain by Caesar.

The great lords of Rome came to Luca to Caesar.

prevail, nor withstand them: he went out of tne Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him, some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus, and other, favouring Caesar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not. Then Caesar, returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country

Ipes and Tenterides, people of Germany.

For two great nations of Germany had not long before passed over the river of Rhine, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenterides. Now touching the battle which Caesar fought with them he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him, to require peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against law of arms, came and set upon him as he travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly, and madness, to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutius writeth that, the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Caesar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people which came over the Rhine, (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons), they were all in manner slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battle got over the river of Rhine again, who were received by the Sicambrians, another people of the Germans. Caesar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good-will of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over the river of Rhine with an army: he built a bridge over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one

Caesar's horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slain by Caesar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germans.

Caesar made a bridge over

side to the other, and it hath so strong and swift a stream besides, that men, casting down great bodies of trees into the river (which the stream bringeth down with it), did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river, so that in ten days' space he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenter's work, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then, passing over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves with their goods into wonderful great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederates of the Romans, he returned back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rhine. The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous island: (which many ancient writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable and a lie): and was the first that enlarged the Roman empire beyond the earth inhabitable. For twice he passed over the narrow sea against the firm land of Gaul, and, fighting many battles there, did hurt his enemies more than enrich his own men: because, of men hardly brought up, and poor, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his war had not such success as he looked for: and therefore, taking pledges only of the king, and imposing a yearly tribute upon him, to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned again into Gaul. There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him: in the which he was advertised from Rome of the death of his daughter, that she was dead with child by Pompey. For the which, Pompey and Caesar both were marvellous sorrowful: and their friends mourned also, thinking that

the river of Rhine.

Caesar's journey into England.

The death of Julia, Caesar's daughter.

this alliance, which maintained the commonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed, and broken asunder, and the rather likely, because the child lived not long after the mother. So the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars. Now Caesar being driven to divide his army (that was very great) into sundry garrisons for the winter-time, and returning again into Italy as he was wont: all Gaul rebelled again, and had raised great armies in every quarter to set upon the Romans, and to assay if they could distress their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these Gauls, that entered into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix: and first did set upon the garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew, and all the soldiers they had about them. Then they went with threescore thousand fighting men to besiege the garrison which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the soldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more than men (as they say) in defending of themselves. These news being come to Caesar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and levying seven thousand soldiers made haste to help Cicero that was in such distress. The Gauls that did besiege Cicero, understanding of Caesar's coming, raised their siege incontinently, to go and meet him: making account that he was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Caesar, to deceive them, still drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a captain that had but a few to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commanded his men in nowise to stir out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the rampers of his camp, and to fortify the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should the less esteem of them: until that at length he took opportunity by their disorderly coming to assail the trenches of his camp, (they were grown to such a presumptuous boldness and bravery), and then sallying out upon them he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts, and, furthermore, he himself in

The rebellion of the Gauls.

Cotta and Titurius with their army slain.

Caesar slew the Gauls led by Ambiorix.

person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebel: for that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions, in their room which he had lost: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himself had levied in Gaul about the river of Po. During these stirs brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore the country where they rose was very ill to come unto, and specially at that time being winter, when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow, that no ways were to be found, neither the marishes nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflown and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Caesar from setting upon the rebels. Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the Arvernians and Carnutes: who had chosen Vercingetorix for their lieutenant-general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself king. This Vercingetorix, dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part all the people and countries thereabout, even as far as they that dwell towards the sea[1] Adriatic, having further determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Caesar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against him. So that, if he had but tarried a little longer, until Caesar had entered into his civil wars, he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger, as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Caesar, that was valiant in all assays and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity: so soon as he understood the news of the rebellion, he departed with speed, and returned back the self same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know that they should deal

The second rebellion of the Gauls against Caesar.

Vercingetorix captain of the rebels against Caesar.

[1] Some say that in this place is to be read in the Greek πρὸς τὸν Ἄραριν, which is the river Saone.

with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same, in so sharp and hard a winter. For, where they would not possibly have believed that a post or currer could have come in so short a time from the place where he was unto them, they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the country, the towns, and strong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him: until such time as the Aedui took arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Caesar's men when they understood that they had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry, and half discouraged. Thereupon Caesar, departing from those parties, went through the country of the Lingones, to enter the country of the Burgonians[1], who were confederates of the Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him, and to environ him of all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Caesar, on the other side, tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time he made them so afraid of him that at length he overcame the barbarous people. But, at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding that he had received some overthrow: for the Arvernians showed a sword hanged up in one of their temples, which they said they had won from Caesar. Insomuch as Caesar self, coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But, some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bade them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alexia, the which Caesar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the walls, as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it. But now, during this siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls came against him, being at the siege of Alexia, besides them that were within

The Aedui rebel against the Romans.

Vercingetorix overthrown by Caesar.

The siege of Alexia.

Caesar's danger and wise policy.

[1] Sequani.

the city, which amounted to the number of three-score and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that, perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of the city, and the other against them without. For, if those two armies had joined together, Caesar had been utterly undone. And therefore this siege of Alexia, and the battle he won before it, did deservedly win him more honour and fame, than any other. For there, in that instant and extreme danger, he showed more valiantness and wisdom, than he did in any battle he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this! that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them, until Caesar had overcome them: and furthermore, that the Romans themselves, which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it than they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alexia, when they perceived on the other side of the city such a number of glistering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corselets and armours, such a deal of plate and movables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in their camp. Thus suddenly was this great army vanished, as a dream or vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in battle. Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alexia had done great hurt to Caesar, and themselves also: in the end, they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round about Caesar, who sat in his chair of estate. Then, lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Caesar's feet, and said never a word. So Caesar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in his triumph at Rome. Now Caesar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who only did see, that one of them two must needs fall: nothing kept Caesar from being the greatest person, but because he

Caesar's great victory at Alexia.

Alexia yielded up to Caesar.

The discord betwixt Caesar and

Pompey, and the cause of the civil wars.

destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did anything let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first overcome Caesar, whom only he feared. For till then Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But

Caesar's craftiness.

Caesar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary: he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul, where he did train his army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Caesar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made suit for honour and offices bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon the common people that had sold their voices for money came to the market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom time brake up but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the market-place, the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship left without a pilot. Insomuch as men of deep judgement and discretion, seeing such fury and madness of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled, than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man only that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him that was the gentlest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand

The people's voices bought at Rome for money.

did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator: he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that, contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate, following his counsel, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain, and Africk, the which he governed by his lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common treasure to pay his soldiers a thousand talents. Hereupon Caesar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the Consulship, and also to have the government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace. But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Caesar) withstood them, and, to shame and dishonour him, had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they took away the freedom from the colonies which Caesar had lately brought unto the city of Novum Comum in Gaul towards Italy, where Caesar not long before had lodged them. And, moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the Senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and said, he gave him those marks that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Caesar of it. After Marcellus' Consulship, Caesar, setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio, the Tribune, clear out of debt: and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilick in the place of Fulvius' Basilick. Then Pompey, being afraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Caesar a successor: and moreover, he sent unto Caesar for his two legions of men of war which he had lent him for the conquest of Gaul. Caesar sent him them again, and gave every private soldier two hundred and fifty silver drachmas. Now they that brought these two legions back from Caesar

Pompey governed Spain and Africk.

Caesar sueth the second time to be consul, and to have his government prorogued.

Caesar bribeth the magistrates at Rome.

gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellously desired and wished for in Caesar's camp: and that though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also that, if the soldiers there did once return over the mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Caesar: because he wearied them with too much labour and continual fight, and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation for war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart Caesar in speech, and to cross the suits he made. Howbeit Caesar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Caesar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Caesar's time of government which he sued for: clapping his hand upon his sword, he said, 'Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him.' Notwithstanding, the requests that Caesar propounded carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like: and that both of them as private persons should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompense: declaring unto them, that taking arms from him, and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himself a tyrant, and in the meantime to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people, in the name of Caesar, he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and won any games. Then Antonius, one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from Caesar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio, in the Senate, Pompey's father-in-law, made this

Pompey abused by flatterers.

Caesar's requests unto the Senate.

motion: that, if Caesar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Caesar should dismiss his army: thereto they all in manner answered, yea, yea. But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms: then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried that they must use force of arms, and not men's opinions, against a thief: the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination, and men changed apparel through the city because of this dissension, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Caesar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul, that lieth between the mountains of the Alps and Italy, and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else, until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the Orator, that was newly come from his government of Cilicia, travailed to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him, he would yield to anything he would have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Caesar's friends to be contented to take those two provinces, and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Caesar as happy occasion and colour as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he showed them these two notable men and Tribunes of the people that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Now at that time, Caesar had not in all about him above five thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army he left on the other side of the mountains, to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that for the

Antonius and Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Caesar.

execution of his enterprise he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather, suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with his valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time, because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with his whole army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him: he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum, (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to, when they come out of Gaul), with as little bloodshed and tumult as they could possible. Then, committing that force and army he had with him unto Hortensius one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and, bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry with them a while, whom he had bidden to supper. Then, when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again: howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not altogether, but some one way, and some another way. He himself in the meantime took a coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum. When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divideth Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy, he stayed upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling them what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and

Caesar's doubtful thoughts at the river of Rubicon.

how much their posterity and them that lived after them would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perilous thoughts to come, and speaking these words, which valiant men commonly say that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises, 'A desperate man feareth no danger, come on!' he passed over the river, and, when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum, and took it. It is said, that the night before he passed over this river he dreamed a damnable dream, that he carnally knew his mother. The city of Ariminum being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy, even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same had been broken up: a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves, leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy. And Rome itself also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droves of cattle, that there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manner destroyed itself for lack of rule and order. For in all places men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere: because they that were glad of this trouble could keep in no certain place, but running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places, that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a city), they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Caesar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had refused the honest

The Greek useth this phrase of speech: 'Cast the die.'

Caesar took the city of Ariminum.

Caesar's damnable dream.

Rome in uproar with Caesar's coming.

offers and reasonable conditions of peace which Caesar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Favonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot: for Pompey, being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly: let no man take thought for preparation of war, for when he listed, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers. This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers than Caesar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of fear before him, as if Caesar had been already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboil) that there was no way but to forsake the city, and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their own things in haste, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always loved Caesar, whose wits were then so troubled and besides themselves, with the fear they had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the city itself, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of her pilots, and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural country, and reckoned Rome no better than Caesar's camp. At that time also, Labienus, who was one of Caesar's greatest friends, and had been always used as his lieutenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise forsook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Caesar sent his money and carriage after him, and then went and encamped before the city of Corfinium, the which Domitius

Pompey flieth from Rome.

Labienus forsook Caesar, and fled to Pompey.

kept with thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he was besieged, he straight thought himself but undone, and despairing of his success he bade a physician, a slave of his, give him poison. The physician gave him a drink which he drank, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius, hearing them report what clemency and wonderful courtesy Caesar used unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The physician did comfort him again, and told him, that he had taken a drink only to make him sleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Caesar, who gave him his life: but he notwithstanding stale away immediately, and fled unto Pompey. When these news were brought to Rome, they did marvellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there: and moreover there were of them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither again. In the meantime, Caesar did put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any captains that levied men for Pompey. Now Caesar, having assembled a great and dreadful power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the city of Brundusium, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that army he had unto Dyrrachium: and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Caesar was come, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in his life. Caesar lacked no good-will to follow him, but, wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome: so that in less than threescore days he was lord of all Italy, without any bloodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter than he looked for, and many Senators there also, he courteously entreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey, to pacify all matters between them upon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Caesar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course, to colour his purpose withal. And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn,

Domitius escaped from Caesar, and fled to Pompey.

Pompey flieth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

but told him that it was against the law: 'Tush,' said he, 'time of war and law are two things. If this that I do,' quoth he, 'do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for war cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands.' When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the temple door where the treasure lay: and, finding no keys there, he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing: but Caesar at length speaking bigly to him threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, 'Young man', quoth he, 'thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to do it.' That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly: and ever after that Caesar had all at his commandment for the wars.

Caesar taketh money out of the temple of Saturn.

Caesar's journey into Spain against Pompey's lieutenants.

From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants: first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger, through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost all his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battle, and intrenching them in: until he had gotten their camp and armies into his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Caesar returned again to Rome, Piso his father-in-law gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat of peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Caesar, was against it.

Caesar Dictator.

Caesar, being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had been slain in Sulla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them, and, besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days

only, and then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul, with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left coming on the way behind him, and went himself before with six hundred horse and five legions only of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the month of January, which after the Athenians is called Posideon. Then, having passed over the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he won the cities of Oricum and Apollonia. Then he sent his ships back again unto Brundusium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body and lusty youth was decayed), being wearied with so many sundry battles as they had fought with their enemies, complained of Caesar in this sort. 'To what end and purpose doth this man hale us after him, up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away: and what, shall we never be without our harness on our backs, and our shields on our arms? Should not Caesar think, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other men do feel? And now, even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea, which the gods themselves cannot withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, and pursued them not.' Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers, still marching on, by small journeys came at length unto the city of Brundusium. But when they were come, and found that Caesar had already passed over the sea, then they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on also with their captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and, sitting upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea towards the realm of Epirus, to see if they could discern the ships returning back to transport them over. Caesar in the meantime being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to embark unknown in a little pinnace of twelve oars only, to pass over the sea again unto

Caesar and Isauricus consuls.

Caesar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus.

Complaints of the old soldiers against Caesar.

A great adventure of Caesar.

Brundusium: the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition

Anius fl. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that overcame the land wind, insomuch as, the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace, seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Caesar, hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but Caesar then taking him by the hand said unto him, 'Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily, fear not, for thou hast Caesar and his fortune with thee.' Then the mariners, forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with oars and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink: Caesar then to his great grief was driven to return back again. Who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger, to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meantime Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundusium. Then Caesar, finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battle, who was passingly well lodged for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Caesar on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and

Caesar's dangers and troubles in the realm of Epirus.

mingled them with milk, and ate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came alongst by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and said that, as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commanded them that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp, fearing lest his men's hearts would fail them, and that they would be afraid, when they should think of their enemies' hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts. Caesar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Caesar had ever the better, saving once only, at what time his men fled with such fear, that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with and driven into their camp, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Caesar stood before them that fled, to make them to turn head again: but he could not prevail. For, when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw them down on the ground: so that the enemies took two-and-thirty of them, and Caesar's self also scaped hardly with life. For striking a great big soldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay and turn his face to his enemy, the soldier being afraid lift up his sword to strike at Caesar. But one of Caesar's pages, preventing him, gave him such a blow with his sword, that he strake off his shoulder. Caesar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have driven his enemies into their camp) returning to his camp with his friends, he said unto them: 'The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a captain, that could have told how to have overcome.' So, when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his

Caesar's army fled from Pompey.

Caesar's words of Pompey's victory.

Caesar troubled

in mind after his loss.

army, of self-will to remain there so long by the seaside, his enemies being the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly, and had not the wit to bring the war from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of victuals, than that he did besiege them by force of arms. Thus, fretting and chafing to see himself so straighted with victuals, and to think of his ill-luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon Scipio, making account, that either he should draw Pompey to battle against his will, when he had not the sea at his back to furnish him with plenty of victuals, or else that he should easily overcome Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of Caesar's camp did much encourage Pompey's army and his captains, who would needs in any case have followed after him, as though he had been overcome, and had fled. But, for Pompey himself, he would in no respect hazard battle, which was a matter of so great importance. For, finding himself well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this war out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in Caesar's army: of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained and good soldiers, and for valiantness, at one day's battle, were incomparable. But on the other side again, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortify their camp where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to keep watch all night in their armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with that pains, so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drave them to eat: yet was not this the worst. For, besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato only of his mind in that, who stuck in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his countrymen's blood. For, when Cato had viewed the dead bodies slain in the camp of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was be-

Pompey's determination for the war.

tween them, the which were no less than a thousand persons, he covered his face and went away weeping. All other but he contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrained from battle: and some pricked him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, saying, that he delayed this war in this sort, because he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad always to see many captains round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him, and wait upon him. And Favonius also, a harebrained fellow, franticly counterfeiting the round and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, and said: 'Is it not great pity that we shall not eat this year of Tusculum figs, and all for Pompey's ambitious mind to reign alone?' And Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain, (where, because he had but ill success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army unto Caesar,) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that merchant, unto whom they said he had sold the province of Spain? So that Pompey with these kind of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow Caesar, to fight with him. Then was Caesar at the first marvellously perplexed, and troubled by the way: because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despised of every man for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But, after that he had taken the city of Gomphi in Thessaly, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to relieve his army with, but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the soldiers, meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard, and making merry, drave away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the Baccherians by the way: insomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new again. When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, and both camps lay before the other, Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signs and tokens of misfortune in his sleep. For he thought in his sleep that, when he entered into the theatre, all the Romans received him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon, they that were about him grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory, that Domitius, Spinther,

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The city of Gomphi in Thessaly.

Pompey's dream in Pharsalia.

The security

of the Pompeians.

and Scipio in a bravery contended between themselves for the chief bishopric which Caesar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the market-place, as being the fittest places for Praetors and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the gentlemen of Caesar's side were but one thousand only. The number of his foot-men also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five-and-forty thousand against two-and-twenty thousand. Wherefore Caesar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificius was at hand, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battle. The soldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to defer battle, but rather to devise some fetch to make the enemy fight as soon as he could. Then, as he sacrificed unto the gods for the purifying of his army, the first beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Caesar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifices any lucky sign, or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered, 'For that thou shalt answer thyself, better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? And if thou be ill, assure thyself thou shalt have better.'

Pompey's army as great again as Caesar's.

A wonder seen in the element before the battle of Pharsalia.

The night before the battle, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came over Caesar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also, when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies' camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a sudden fear, that makes men beside themselves. This notwithstanding, Caesar thought not to fight that day, but

was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Scotusa: and his tents in his camp were already overthrown when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then he was very glad, and, after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battle ray, and divided them into three squadrons: giving the middle battle unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But, seeing that against that his enemies had set all their horsemen, he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six ensigns to come from the rearward of his battle, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do, when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge. On the other side, Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battle, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battle unto Scipio his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose to environ Caesar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no squadron of footmen, how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all and march upon their bellies. When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battle, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Caesar afterwards said, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also a-fire: for the common hurling of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men a-fire. Then Caesar, making his battle march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging

Caesar's army and his battle in the fields of Pharsalia.

Pompey's army and his order of battle.

An ill counsel and foul fault of Pompey.

them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him: 'Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? How are we determined, to fight it out manfully?' Then Crassinius, casting up his hand, answered him aloud: 'This day, O Caesar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead.' When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six-score men, and, making a lane through the foremost ranks, with great slaughter he entered far into the battle of his enemies: until that, valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his neck. Now, the footmen of both battles being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troops, to compass in the right wing of Caesar's battle. But before they began to give charge, the six ensigns of footmen which Caesar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their darts far off as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but to seek to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Caesar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young gentlemen that had not been often in the wars, nor were used to see themselves hurt, and the which being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss of all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken them ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slew them. Then Pompey, seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battle so scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgat that he was any more Pompey the Great which he had been before, but rather was like a man whose

The battle in the fields of Pharsalia.

Caesar's stratagem.

Caesar overcometh Pompey.

wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above: and so retired into his tent speaking never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battle. Until at length, all his army being overthrown and put to flight, the enemies came, and got up upon the rampers and defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then, as a man come to himself again, he spake but this only word: 'What, even into our camp?' So in haste, casting off his coat armour and apparel of a general, he shifted him, and put on such as became his miserable fortune, and so stale out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then Caesar, entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: 'It was their own doing, and against my will.' For Caius Caesar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battles, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army. Asinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek, and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the camp were slaves and bondsmen, and that there were not slain in all at this battle above six thousand soldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, Caesar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards slew Caesar himself: and it is reported, that Caesar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediately be found after the battle, and that he rejoiced again, when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him. Caesar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle: but the notablest of all other that happened to him was in the city of Tralles.• For in the temple of victory, within the same city, there was an image of Caesar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image. In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsayer, (a country-

Pompey's flight.

Brutus, that slew Caesar, taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia.

Signs and tokens of Caesar's victory.

A strange tale of Cornelius,

an excellent prognosticator.

man and friend of Titus Livius the historiographer) was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporteth) knew the very time when the battle began, and told them that were present, 'Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this instant.' Then, sitting down again to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signs he suddenly rose up on his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit, 'Oh Caesar, the victory is thine.' Every man wondering to see him, he took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had proved his art true. Livy testifieth that it so came to pass. Caesar afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect of the victory which he won in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unto the Gnidians for Theopompus' sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release Asia also the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into Alexandria, after Pompey was slain: and detested Theodotus that presented him Pompey's head, and turned his head at one side because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took his seal, and, beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompey's friends and familiars, who wandering up and down the country were taken of the king of Egypt, and won them all to be at his commandment. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him. And, for the war he made in Alexandria, some say he needed not have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra: wherein he won little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault upon the king of Egypt's ministers, but specially on Pothinus the eunuch, who, bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Caesar. Wherefore Caesar, hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety.

Caesar's clemency in victory.

The cause of Caesar's war in Alexandria.

Pothinus the eunuch caused Pompey to be slain.

But, besides all this, Pothinus the eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, only to shame Caesar, and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten: then, if they did complain of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they ate at another man's cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen and earthen dishes, saying that Caesar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him: which was a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads, whereof Caesar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt, with the king's good-will and favour. Caesar replied unto him, and said, that he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for Cleopatra which was in the country to come unto him. She, only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little boat, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then, having no other mean to come into the court without being known, she laid herself down upon a mattress or flock-bed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so took her up on his back, and brought her thus hampered in this fardel unto Caesar, in at the castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Caesar to love her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her again unto her brother the king, with condition that they two jointly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation a great feast being prepared, a slave of Caesar's, that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived, still busily prying and listening abroad in every corner, being mistrustful by nature, found that Pothinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his master Caesar. This being proved unto Caesar, he did set such sure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that, in fine, he slew the

Cleopatra came to Caesar.

Cleopatra trussed up in a mattress, and so brought to Caesar upon Apollodorus' back.

eunuch Pothinus himself. Achillas, on the other side, saved himself and fled unto the king's camp, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult war for Caesar: because, he having then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great and strong city. The first danger he fell into was for the lack of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the water unto the castle. The second danger he had was that, seeing his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenal where the ships lay, and that notable library of Alexandria withal. The third danger was in the battle by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where, meaning to help his men that fought by sea, he leapt from the pier into a boat. Then the Egyptians made towards him with their oars on every side: but he, leaping into the sea, with great hazard saved himself by swimming. It is said, that then holding divers books in his hands he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water: howbeit the boat was drowned presently. In fine, the king coming to his men that made war with Caesar, he went against him, and gave him battle, and won it with great slaughter, and effusion of blood. But, for the king, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Caesar made Cleopatra his sister queen of Egypt, who, being great with child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a son, whom the Alexandrians named Caesarion. From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battle by Pharnaces the son of King Mithridates, and was fled out of the realm of Pont, with a few men with him: and that this King Pharnaces, greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia, and Cappadocia, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the less, procuring all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. Thereupon Caesar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battle with King Pharnaces by the city of Zela,

The great library of Alexandria burnt.

Caesar's swimming with books in his hands.

Caesar made Cleopatra queen of Egypt.

Caesarion, Caesar's son, begotten of Cleopatra.

Caesar's victory of King Pharnaces.

where he slew his army, and drave him out of all the realm of Pont. And, because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anicius at Rome: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I saw, I overcame. These three words, ending all with like sound and letters in the Latin, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the ear, than can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this, he returned again into Italy, and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which office before was never granted for one whole year, but unto him. Then he was chosen Consul for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Praetors, Cosconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but, instead of calling them soldiers, he named them citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, and great possessions in Italy. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anicius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Cornificius, which made Pompey's house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the Romans were marvellously offended. Caesar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but, to bring his matters to pass, he pretended he was driven to serve his turn by such instruments. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africk, King Juba joined with them, and levied a great puissant army. Wherefore Caesar determined to make war with them, and in the midst of winter he took his journey into Sicily. There, because he would take all hope from his captains and soldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with the next gale of wind that came he took the sea with three thousand footmen and a few horsemen. Then, having put them a-land, unwares to them he hoised sail again, to go fetch the rest of his army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over, and meeting them midway he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said, that it was predestined unto the family of the Scipios to be con-

Caesar writeth three words to certify his victory.

Caesar's journey into Africk against Cato and Scipio.

querors in Africk: either of purpose to mock Scipio the general of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battles fought he gave the charge of his army unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Sallution, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him always his general when he fought. For he was eftsoons compelled to weary and harry his enemies: for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor his beasts forage, but his soldiers were driven to take seaweeds, called *alga*, and (washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called dog's-tooth) to cast it so to their horse to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service), being a great number together, would be on a sudden in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day as the men of arms were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute: they being set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold, the enemies stealing suddenly upon them compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled followed them pell-mell into their camp. Furthermore, had not Caesar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him, gone out of the camp to the rescue, and stayed them that fled, the war that day had been ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported that Caesar, taking the ensign-bearer by the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and, turning his face, told him: 'See, there be thy enemies.' These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battle: and, leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and King Juba on the other hand, both their camps lying near to other, he did fortify himself by the city of Thapsacus, above the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battle. But, whilst he was busy intrenching of himself, Caesar having marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood, by by-paths which men would never have mistrusted, he stale upon some behind, and sudden

Caesar's troubles in Africk. *Alga* and dog's-tooth given to the horse to eat.

Caesar's dangers in Africk.

assailed the other before, so that he overthrew them all, and made them fly. Then, following this first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afranius, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the Numidians also, King Juba being fled. Thus, in a little piece of the day only, he took three camps, and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battle by some writers. Yet others do write also, that Caesar self was not there in person at the execution of this battle. For, as he did set his men in battle ray, the falling sickness took him, whereunto he was given, and therefore, feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle not far from thence where the battle was fought, and there took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now, for the Praetor and Consuls that scaped from this battle, many of them being taken prisoners did kill themselves, and others also Caesar did put to death: but, he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battle. Notwithstanding, being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open show that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Caesar said at that present time: 'O Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life.' This notwithstanding, the book that he wrote afterwards against Cato being dead did show no very great affection nor pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he showed unto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled *Cato*. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Caesar therewith was marvellously offended,

Caesar's great victory and small loss.

Caesar troubled with the falling sickness.

Caesar was sorry for the death of Cato.

Caesar wrote against Cato being dead.

Cicero wrote a book in praise of Cato being dead.

thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was even as much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book *Anticaton*. Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bare to Caesar, and others allowing the other for Cato's sake. Caesar, being now returned out of Africk, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them, that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other for the kingdom of Pont, and the third for Africk: not because he had overcome Scipio there, but King Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a young boy, was led captive in the show of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for, where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell unto when he was prisoner he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his soldiers: and, to curry favour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romans at one time at two-and-twenty thousand tables, and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight at the sharp, and battles also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter Julia, which was dead long before. Then, after all these sports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and, where there were at the last musters before three hundred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonwealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought unto all the rest of Italy, and to the other provinces pertaining to Rome. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the sons of Pompey: who were yet but very young, but had notwith-

Juba, the son of King Juba, a famous historiographer.

Caesar's feasting of the Romans.

The muster taken of the Romans.

Caesar consul the fourth time.

standing raised a marvellous great army together, and showed to have had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army, insomuch as they put Caesar himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battle that was fought between them in all this war was by the city of Munda. For then Caesar seeing his men sorely distressed, and having their hands full of their enemies: he ran into the press among his men that fought, and cried out unto them: 'What, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands to these young boys?' And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men a thousand of the best he had. After this battle he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He won this battle on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his sons, the younger scaped from the battle: but, within few days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Caesar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same did as much offend the Romans, and more, than anything that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man in Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And, because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars: but did always for shame refuse the glory of it. This notwithstanding, the Romans inclining to Caesar's prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that, to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good mean for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and miseries as they had

Battle fought betwixt Caesar and the young Pompeys, by the city of Munda.

Caesar's victory of the sons of Pompey.

Caesar's triumph of Pompey's sons.

Caesar dictator perpetual.

abidden in these civil wars: they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plain tyranny: for to this absolute power of Dictator they added this, never to be afraid to be deposed. Cicero propounded before the Senate, that they should give him such honours as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added-to honours beyond all reason. For, men striving who should most honour him, they made him hateful and troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon, it is reported that even they that most hated him were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours, than they that most flattered him: because they might have greater occasions to rise, and that it might appear they had just cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did so honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore methinks, amongst other honours they gave him, he rightly deserved this, that they should build him a temple of clemency, to thank him for his courtesy he had used unto them in his victory. For he pardoned many of them that had borne arms against him, and, furthermore, did prefer some of them to honour and office in the commonwealth: as, amongst others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Praetors. And, where Pompey's images had been thrown down, he caused them to be set up again: whereupon Cicero said then, that Caesar setting up Pompey's images again he made his own to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never consent to it, but said, it was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death. But to win himself the love and good-will of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have, he made common feasts again, and general distributions of corn. Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which the noblest and chiefest cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth, and it chanced also that, like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together,

The temple of clemency, dedicated unto Caesar for his courtesy.

Cassius and Brutus Praetors.

Caesar's saying of death.

Goodwill of subjects the best guard and safety for princes.

even so were they both set afoot again, and replenished with people, at one self time. And, as for great personages, he won them also, promising some of them to make them Praetors and Consuls in time to come, and unto others honours and preferments, but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his reign. Insomuch as, one of the Consuls called Maximus chancing to die a day before his Consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer, Cicero pleasantly said, 'Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulship come out.' Furthermore, Caesar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours, the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but rather gave him hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make war with the Persians. Then, when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (compassing in the sea Caspium and Mount Caucasus) into the realm of Pontus, and so to invade Scythia: and, over-running all the countries and people adjoining unto high Germany, and Germany itself, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so to enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great sea Oceanus. But whilst he was preparing for this voyage he attempted to cut the bar of the strait of Peloponnesus, in the place where the city of Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the rivers of Anien and Tiber straight from Rome unto the city of Circeii with a deep channel and high banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that came to Rome to traffic there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and sea-wall the water of

Caninius Rebilius consul for one day.

Anien et Tiber. fl.

the marishes betwixt the cities of Nomentum and Setium, to make it firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people: and on the sea-coast next unto Rome to cast great high banks, and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia of rocks and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbourough dangerous for ships, and to make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships, as did continually traffic thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but took no effect. But the ordinance of the calendar, and reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the Romans, using then the ancient computation of the year, had not only such incertainty and alteration of the month and times, that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came by little and little to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the sun (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and, of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore, when they listed, they suddenly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a month above their ordinary number, which they called in old time[1], *Mercedonius*. Some say that Numa Pompilius was the first that devised this way, to put a month between: but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the year, to frame them to perfection. But Caesar, committing this matter unto the philosophers and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated than any other that was before: the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing err as others in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that envied his greatness did not stick to find fault withal. As Cicero the Orator, when one said, 'To-morrow the star Lyra will rise:' 'Yea,' said he, 'at the commandment of Caesar,' as if men were compelled so to say and think, by Caesar's edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated was the covetous desire he had to be called king: which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret

Caesar reformed the inequality of the year.

Why Caesar was hated.

[1] *Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.*

enemies honest colour, to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity gave it out among the people, that it was written in the Sibylline prophecies, how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that, Caesar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Caesar also angry, he said he was not called king, but Caesar. Then, every man keeping silence, he went his way heavy and sorrowful. When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Praetors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he, sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: that his honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged. This did not only offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth: insomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Caesar rising departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet collar, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported that afterwards, to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfect which have his disease of the falling evil, when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudden dimness and giddiness. But that was not true. For he would have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: 'What, do you not remember that you are Caesar, and will you not let them reverence you, and do their duties?' Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, The feast Lupercalia

the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycaeans in Arcadia. But, howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men, (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then,) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferule: persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery, and also, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. Caesar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chair of gold, apparelled in triumphing manner. Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. So, when he came into the market-place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Caesar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But, when Caesar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then, Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But, when Caesar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Caesar having made this proof found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol. After that, there were set up images of Caesar in the city with diadems upon their heads, like kings. Those the two Tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Caesar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the government of the Senate and people. Caesar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their Tribuneships, and, accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to wit, beasts, and fools. Hereupon the

Antonius, being consul, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius presented the diadem to Caesar.

people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Caesar showed unto him kept him back, that of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Caesar did not only save his life after the battle of Pharsalia when Pompey fled, and did at his request also save many moe of his friends besides: but, furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Praetorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul, the fourth year after that, having through Caesar's friendship obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made suit for the same: and Caesar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, 'Indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus.' Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Caesar would not hear of it, but, clapping his hand on his body, told them, 'Brutus will look for this skin:' meaning thereby, that Brutus for his virtue deserved to rule after him, but yet that for ambition's sake he would not show himself unthankful or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Praetor's seat where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect. 'Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed.' Cassius, finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious bills, did prick him forward, and egg him on the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Caesar: the circumstance whereof we have set down more at large in Brutus' life. Caesar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, 'What will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks.' Another time, when Caesar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them again, 'As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads,' quoth he, 'I never reckon of them: but these pale-visaged

Caesar saved Marcus Brutus' life after the battle of Pharsalia.

Brutus conspireth against Caesar.

Cassius stirreth up Brutus against Caesar.

and carrion lean people, I fear them most:' meaning Brutus and Cassius. Certainly, destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided: considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Caesar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noon-days sitting in the great market-place: are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt, but, when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Caesar self also, doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certain soothsayer that had given Caesar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Caesar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, 'The Ides of March be come:' 'So be they,' softly answered the soothsayer, 'but yet are they not past.' And the very day before, Caesar, supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters as he was wont to do at the board: so, talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he preventing their opinions cried out aloud, 'Death unlooked for.' Then going to bed the same night as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches. For she dreamed that Caesar was slain, and that she had him in her arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as amongst other Titus Livius writeth, that it was in this sort. The Senate having set upon the top of Caesar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down,

Predictions and foreshows of Caesar's death.

Caesar's day of his death prognosticated by a soothsayer.

The dream of Calpurnia Caesar's wife.

and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that, Caesar rising in the morning, she prayed him if it were possible not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate until another day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Caesar likewise did fear and suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear or superstition: and then, for that he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had. But much more afterwards, when the soothsayers, having sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate. But in the meantime came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Caesar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus: he, fearing that if Caesar did adjourn the session that day the conspiracy would out, laughed the soothsayers to scorn, and reproved Caesar, saying: that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all the provinces of the empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams: what would his enemies and ill-willers say, and how could they like of his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them, and tyrannical in himself? 'And yet, if it be so,' said he, 'that you utterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and saluting the Senate to dismiss them till another time.' Therewithal he took Caesar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Caesar was not gone far from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him: and, when he saw he was put back by the great press and multitude

Decius Brutus Albinus persuasion to Caesar.

Decius Brutus brought Caesar into the senate-house.

of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put himself into Calpurnia's hands to be kept till Caesar came back again, telling her that he had great matters to impart unto him. And one Artemidorus also, born in the Isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Caesar, came and brought him a little bill written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He, marking how Caesar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: 'Caesar, read this memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly.' Caesar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate-house. Howbeit other are of opinion that it was some man else that gave him that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to give it Caesar, but he was always repulsed by the people. For these things, they may seem to come by chance: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre: all these were manifest proofs that it was the ordinance of some god, that made this treason to be executed specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him. But the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half beside himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Caesar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-house, having begun a long tale of set purpose. So, Caesar coming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company and

The tokens of the conspiracy against Caesar.

The place where Caesar was slain.

Antonius, Caesar's faithful friend.

confederates stood round about Caesar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus, prosecuting still their suit, they followed Caesar, till he was set in his chair. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnester with him: Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. Then Casca behind him strake him in the neck with his sword: howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because, it seemed, the fear of such a devilish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Caesar, turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard: and they both cried out, Caesar in Latin: 'O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou?' And Casca in Greek to his brother, 'Brother, help me.' At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to fly, neither to help him, not so much as once to make any outcry. They on the other side that had conspired his death compassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Caesar turned him nowhere but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murther: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound about his privities. Men report also that Caesar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but, when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either casually, or purposely by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up his ghost there for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported that he had

Casca the first that strake at Caesar.

Caesar slain, and had 23 wounds upon him.

three-and-twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows. When Caesar was slain, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the midst amongst them, as though he would have said somewhat touching this fact,) presently ran out of the house, and flying filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut-to their doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Caesar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other men's houses, and forsook their own. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troop together out of the Senate, and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troop, and went amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, and falsely challenged part of the honour with them: amongst them was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius and Octavius Caesar the younger: and yet had no part of that honour for the which they were put to death, neither did any man believe that they were any of the confederates, or of counsel with them. For they that did put them to death took revenge rather of the will they had to offend, than of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reproved, nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they showed that they were sorry for Caesar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted general pardon for all that was past, and, to pacify every man, ordained besides that Caesar's funerals should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done: and gave certain provinces also

The murtherers of Caesar do go to the market-place.

Caesar's funerals.

and convenient honours unto Brutus and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Caesar's testament, and found a liberal legacy of money bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market-place) all bemangled with gashes of swords: then there was no order to keep the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and stools, and laid them all about the body, and setting them afire burnt the corse. Then, when the fire was well kindled, they took the firebrands, and went unto their houses that had slain Caesar, to set them afire. Other also ran up and down the city to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces: howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up safely in their houses. There was one of Caesar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Caesar bade him to supper, and that he refused, and would not go: then that Caesar took him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time that they burnt Caesar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight through them all, that he was one of them that murthered Caesar (for indeed one of the traitors to Caesar was also called Cinna as himself): wherefore, taking him for Cinna the murtherer, they fell upon him with such fury, that they presently dispatched him in the market-place. This stir and fury made Brutus and Cassius more afraid than of all that was past, and therefore, within few days after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life of Brutus. Caesar died at six-and-fifty years of age: and Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued

Cinna's dream of Caesar.

The murther of Cinna.

Caesar 56 year old at his death.

with such extreme danger, but a vain name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country. But his great prosperity and good fortune, that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other is most to be wondered at. For he, being overcome in battle at the journey of Philippi, slew himself with the same sword, with the which he strake Caesar. Again, of signs in the element, the great comet, which seven nights together was seen very bright after Caesar's death, the eight night after was never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small heat: therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But, above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus showed plainly that the gods were offended with the murther of Caesar. The vision was thus. Brutus, being ready to pass over his army from the city of Abydos to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake thinking of his affairs, (for by report he was as careful a captain, and lived with as little sleep, as ever man did,) he thought he heard a noise at his tent door, and, looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness, and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But, when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bedside and said nothing, at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: 'I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi.' Then Brutus replied again, and said: 'Well, I shall see thee then.' Therewithal the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time Brutus being in battle near unto the city of Philippi against Antonius and Octavius Caesar, at the first battle he won the victory, and, overthrowing all them that

The revenge of Caesar's death.

Cassius being overthrown at the battle of Philippi slew himself with the self-same sword wherewith he strake Caesar.

Wonders seen in the element after Caesar's death.

A great comet.

Brutus' vision.

A spirit appeared unto Brutus.

withstood him, he drave them into young Caesar's camp, which he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus, knowing he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So, seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast fell upon it, and slew himself, but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that dispatched him.

The second appearing of the spirit unto Brutus.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS

The parentage of Brutus.

MARCUS BRUTUS came of that Junius Brutus, for whom the ancient Romans made his statue of brass to be set up in the Capitol with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand, because he had valiantly put down the Tarquins from their kingdom of Rome. But that Junius Brutus, being of a sour stern nature, not softened by reason, being like unto sword blades of too hard a temper, was so subject to his choler and malice he bore unto the tyrants, that for their sakes he caused his own sons to be executed.

Brutus' manners.

But this Marcus Brutus in contrary manner, whose life we presently write, having framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and study of philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: methinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue. So that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracy against Julius Caesar, if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracy, they refer it wholly unto Brutus, and all the cruel and violent acts unto Cassius, who was Brutus' familiar friend, but not so well given and conditioned as he. His

Servilia, M. Brutus' mother.

mother Servilia, it is thought, came of the blood of Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Maelius went about to make himself king, and to bring it to pass had enticed the common people to rebel, took a dagger and hid it close under his arm, and went into the market-place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him, and pressed as near him as he could: wherefore, Maelius stooping down with his head to hear what he would say, Brutus stabbed him in with his dagger, and slew him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now, touching his father, some for the evil will and malice they bare unto Brutus, because of the death of Julius Caesar, do maintain

that he came not of Junius Brutus that drave out the Tarquins: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sons were executed for conspiracy with the Tarquins: and that Marcus Brutus came of a mean house, the which was raised to honour and office in the commonwealth but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrary, that Junius Brutus indeed slew two of his sons which were men grown, as the histories do declare, howbeit that there was a third son, being but a little child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certain famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And thus much for this matter. Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother unto Servilia, M. Brutus' mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romans, because he was his uncle, and afterwards he married his daughter. Now touching the Grecian philosophers, there was no sect nor philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but above all the rest he loved Plato's sect best, and did not much give himself to the new nor mean Academy as they call it, but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did ever greatly esteem the philosopher Antiochus, of the city of Ascalon: but he was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other philosophers, but for wisdom and courtesy equal with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom Marcus Brutus himself doth mention in his epistles, and his friends also in many places, he was an orator, and left an excellent book he wrote of the death of Julius Caesar, and titled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to long discourse in it, besides that he could also plead very well in Latin. But, for the Greek tongue, they do note in some of his epistles, that he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of speech of the Lacedaemonians. As, when the war was begun, he wrote unto the Pergamenians in this sort; 'I understand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me: if against your wills, show it then by giving me willingly.' Another time again unto the Samians: 'Your counsels be long, your doings be slow, consider the end.' And in

Servilia Cato's sister.

Brutus' studies.

Brutus followed the old Academics.

Empylus, an orator, wrote a book of Caesar's death, and entitled it *Brutus*.

Brutus' manner of writing his epistles in Greek.

A brief letter to the Samians.

another epistle he wrote unto the Patareians: 'The Xanthians, despising my goodwill, have made their country a grave of despair: and the Patareians, that put themselves into my protection, have lost no jot of their liberty. And therefore, whilst you have liberty, either choose the judgement of the Patareians or the fortune of the Xanthians.' These were Brutus' manner of letters, which were honoured for their briefness. So Brutus being but a young stripling went into Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolemy king of Egypt, who having slain himself, Cato, staying for certain necessary business he had in the Isle of Rhodes, had already sent Canidius, one of his friends, before to keep his treasure and goods. But Cato, fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote unto Brutus forthwith to come out of Pamphylia (where he was but newly recovered of a sickness) into Cyprus, the which he did. The which journey he was sorry to take upon him, both for respect of Canidius' shame, whom Cato as he thought wrongfully slandered, as also because he thought this office too mean and unmeet for him, being a young man, and given to his book. This notwithstanding, he behaved himself so honestly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him: and, after all the goods were sold and converted into ready-money, he took the most part of it, and returned withal to Rome. Afterwards when the empire of Rome was divided into factions, and that Caesar and Pompey both were in arms one against the other, and that all the empire of Rome was in garboil and uproar: it was thought then that Brutus would take part with Caesar, because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Brutus preferring the respect of his country and commonwealth before private affection, and persuading himself that Pompey had juster cause to enter into arms than Caesar: he then took part with Pompey, though oftentimes meeting him before he thought scorn to speak to him, thinking it a great sin and offence in him to speak to the murtherer of his father. But then submitting himself unto Pompey, as unto the head of the commonwealth, he sailed into Sicily, lieutenant under Sestius that was governor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Caesar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of

Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.

Brutus taketh part with Pompey.

himself unsent for into Macedon, to be partaker of the danger. It is reported that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his coming when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chair, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honourably as he could have done the noblest man that took his part. Brutus, being in Pompey's camp, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with Pompey, and not only the days before, but the self same day also before the great battle was fought in the fields of Pharsalia, where Pompey was overthrown. It was in the midst of summer, and the sun was very hot, besides that the camp was lodged near unto marishes, and they that carried his tent tarried long before they came, whereupon, being very weary with travel, scant any meat came into his mouth at dinner-time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrow after, he fell to his book, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breviary of Polybius. It is reported that Caesar did not forget him, and that he gave his captains charge before the battle, that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight, and, if he yielded willingly unto them, that then they should bring him unto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Servilia's sake, Brutus' mother. For, when he was a young man, he had been acquainted with Servilia, who was extremely in love with him. And, because Brutus was born in that time when their love was hottest, he persuaded himself that he begat him. For proof hereof the report goeth, that when the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of Catiline, which was likely to have undone the city of Rome, Caesar and Cato sat near together, and were both of contrary minds to each other: and then, that in the meantime one delivered Caesar a letter. Caesar took it, and read it softly to himself: but Cato cried out upon Caesar, and said he did not well to receive advertisements from enemies. Whereupon the whole Senate began to murmur at it. Then Caesar gave Cato the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a love-letter sent from his sister Servilia: thereupon he cast it again to Caesar, and said unto him, 'Hold, drunken sop.' When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and main-

Brutus studied in Pompey's camp.

Julius Caesar careful of Brutus' safety.

Julius Caesar loved Servilia, Brutus' mother.

tained his opinion as he did before: so commonly was the love of Servilia known which she bare unto Caesar. So, after Pompey's overthrow at the battle of Pharsalia, and that he fled to the sea, when Caesar came to besiege his camp, Brutus went out of the camp gates unseen of any man, and leapt into a marish full of water and reeds. Then when night was come he crept out, and went unto the city of Larissa: from whence he wrote unto Caesar, who was very glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come unto him. When Brutus was come, he did not only pardon him, but also kept him always about him, and did as much honour and esteem him, as any man he had in his company. Now no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were marvellous desirous to know it: wherefore Caesar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did ask him which way he thought Pompey took. Caesar perceiving by his talk that Brutus guessed certainly whither Pompey should be fled, he left all other ways, and took his journey directly towards Egypt. Pompey, as Brutus conjectured, was indeed fled into Egypt, but there he was villainously slain. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Caesar for Cassius: and, defending also the [1] king of Libya's cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusations against him, howbeit, entreating for him, he saved him the best part of his realm and kingdom. They say also that Caesar said, when he heard Brutus plead: 'I know not,' said he, 'what this young man would, but, what he would, he willeth it vehemently.' For, as Brutus' gravity and constant mind would not grant all men their requests that sued unto him, but being moved with reason and discretion did always incline to that which was good and honest, even so, when it was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement persuasion, that calmed not till he had obtained his desire. For, by flattering of him, a man could never obtain anything at his hands, nor make him to do that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meet for a man of calling and estimation to yield unto the requests and entreaties of a shameless and importunate

Brutus saved by Julius Caesar after the battle of Pharsalia.

[1] This king was Juba: howbeit it is true also that Brutus made intercession for Deïotarus, king of Galatia, who was deprived notwithstanding of the most part of his country by Caesar, and therefore this place were best to be understanded by Deïotarus.

suitor, requesting things unmeet: the which, notwithstanding, some men do for shame, because they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to say, that he thought them evil brought up in their youth, that could deny nothing. Now when Caesar took sea to go into Africk against Cato and Scipio, he left Brutus governor of Gaul in Italy, on this side of the Alps, which was a great good-hap for that province. For, where others were spoiled and polled by the insolency and covetousness of the governors, as if it had been a country conquered, Brutus was a comfort and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly unto Caesar's grace and goodness. For, when Caesar returned out of Africk, and progressed up and down Italy, the things that pleased him best to see were the cities under Brutus' charge and government, and Brutus himself: who honoured Caesar in person, and whose company also Caesar greatly esteemed. Now there were divers sorts of Praetorships at Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make suit for the chiefest Praetorship, which they called the Praetorship of the city: because he that had that office was as a judge to minister justice unto the citizens. Therefore they strove one against the other, though some say that there was some little grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out, though they were allied together. For Cassius had married Junia, Brutus' sister. Others say, that this contention betwixt them came by Caesar himself, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their suit for the Praetorship was so followed and laboured of either party, that one of them put another in suit of law. Brutus with his virtue and good name contended against many noble exploits in arms, which Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Caesar, after he had heard both their objections, he told his friends with whom he consulted about this matter: 'Cassius' cause is the juster,' said he, 'but Brutus must be first preferred.' Thus Brutus had the first Praetorship, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Caesar so much for the Praetorship he had, as he was angry with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many other things tasted of the benefit of Caesar's favour in anything he requested. For, if he had listed, he might

Caesar made Brutus governor of Gaul on this side the mountains.

Brutus and Cassius contend for the Praetorship of the city.

Cassius married Junia, Brutus' sister.

The first cause of Cassius' malice against Caesar.

have been one of Caesar's chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and credit about him, Howbeit Cassius' friends did dissuade him from it, (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Praetorship,) and prayed him to beware of Caesar's sweet enticements, and to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they said Caesar gave him, not to honour his virtue but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now Caesar on the other side did not trust him overmuch, nor was not without tales brought unto him against him: howbeit he feared his great mind, authority, and friends. Yet, on the other side also, he trusted his good nature and fair conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him, he answered, that these fat long-haired men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely-faced fellows, meaning that by Brutus and Cassius. At another time also when one accused Brutus unto him, and bade him beware of him: 'What,' said he again, clapping his hand on his breast, 'think ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body die?' Meaning that none but Brutus after him was meet to have such power as he had. And surely, in my opinion, I am persuaded that Brutus might indeed have come to have been the chiefest man of Rome, if he could have contented himself for a time to have been next unto Caesar, and to have suffered his glory and authority which he had gotten by his great victories to consume with time. But Cassius being a choleric man, and hating Caesar privately, more than he did the tyranny openly, he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported that Brutus could evil away with the tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant, making many complaints for the injuries he had done him, and, amongst others, for that he had taken away his lions from him. Cassius had provided them for his sports, when he should be Aedile, and they were found in the city of Megara when it was won by Calenus, and Caesar kept them. The rumour went, that these lions did marvellous great hurt to the Megarians. For, when the city was taken, they broke their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loose, thinking they would have done great mischief to the enemies, and have kept them from setting upon them: but the lions, contrary to expecta-

Caesar suspected Brutus.

Caesar's saying of Brutus.

Cassius incenseth Brutus against Caesar.

Cassius' lions in Megara.

tion, turned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tear some in pieces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, as some do report, that made Cassius conspire against Caesar. But this holdeth no water. For Cassius even from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same school that Faustus the son of Sulla did. And Faustus, bragging among other boys, highly boasted of his father's kingdom: Cassius rose up on his feet, and gave him two good whirts on the ear. Faustus' governors would have put this matter in suit against Cassius: but Pompey would not suffer them, but caused the two boys to be brought before him, and asked them how the matter came to pass. Then Cassius, as it is written of him, said unto the other: 'Go to, Faustus, speak again, an thou darest before this nobleman here, the same words that made me angry with thee, that my fists may walk once again about thine ears.' Such was Cassius' hot stirring nature. But for Brutus, his friends and countrymen, both by divers procurements, and sundry rumours of the city, and by many bills also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For, under the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus, that drave the kings out of Rome, they wrote: 'Oh that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus:' and again, 'That thou wert here among us now.' His tribunal (or chair), where he gave audience during the time he was Praetor, was full of such bills: 'Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed.' And of all this Caesar's flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devised for him, in the night-time they did put diadems upon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him king, instead of dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary, as we have written more at large in Julius Caesar's life. Now when Cassius felt his friends, and did stir them up against Caesar, they all agreed and promised to take part with him, so Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that did not so much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their swords, as it stood them upon to have a man of such estimation as Brutus, to make every man boldly think that by his

Cassius enemy of tyrants.

How Brutus was incensed against Caesar.

only presence the fact were holy and just. If he took not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts, and when they had done it they should be more fearful: because every man would think that Brutus would not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had been good and honest. Therefore Cassius, considering this matter with himself, did first of all speak to Brutus since they grew strange together for the suit they had for the Praetorship. So when he was reconciled to him again, and that they had embraced one another, Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate-house, the first day of the month of March, because he heard say that Caesar's friends should move the council that day, that Caesar should be called king by the Senate. Brutus answered him, he would not be there. 'But if we be sent for,' said Cassius, 'how then?' 'For myself then,' said Brutus, 'I mean not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather die than lose my liberty.' Cassius being bold, and taking hold of this word, 'Why,' quoth he, 'what Roman is he alive that will suffer thee to die for the liberty? What, knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or suchlike base mechanical people, that write these bills and scrolls which are found daily in thy Praetor's chair, and not the noblest men and best citizens that do it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Praetors they look for gifts, common distributions amongst the people, and for common plays, and to see fencers fight at the sharp, to show the people pastime: but at thy hands they specially require (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt show thyself to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art.' Thereupon he kissed Brutus, and embraced him: and so, each taking leave of other, they went both to speak with their friends about it. Now amongst Pompey's friends there was one called [1] Caius Ligarius, who had been accused unto Caesar for taking part with Pompey, and Caesar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Caesar so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannical power. And therefore in his heart he was alway

Cassius prayeth Brutus first to help him to put down the tyrant.

[1] In another place they call him Quintus.

his mortal enemy, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sick in his bed, and said unto him: 'O Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick?' Ligarius rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: 'Brutus,' said he, 'if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whole.' After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and laid their heads together consulting upon it, and did not only pick out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose, and quench the heat of their enterprise, the which specially required hot and earnest execution, seeking by persuasion to bring all things to such safety, as there should be no peril. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurean, and Favonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato. Because that having cast out words afar off, disputing together in philosophy to feel their minds, Favonius answered, that civil war was worse than tyrannical government usurped against the law. And Statilius told him also, that it were an unwise part of him, to put his life in danger for a sight of ignorant fools and asses. Labeo was present at this talk, and maintained the contrary against them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it had been a doubtful matter, and a hard thing to have decided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made Labeo privy to his intent: who very readily offered himself to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to join with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his hands himself, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and fencers at the sharp, whom he kept to show the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that Caesar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But, when he had spoken with Brutus himself alone, and that Brutus had told him he was the chief ringleader of all this conspiracy,

Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conspiracy.

They do hide the conspiracy against Caesar from Cicero.

Civil war worse than tyrannical government.

then he willingly promised him the best aid he could. Furthermore, the only name and great calling of Brutus did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy. Who having never taken oaths together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious oaths: they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding the gods did reveal it by manifest signs and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices, yet all this would not be believed. Now Brutus, who knew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most courageous men of Rome did venture their lives, weighing with himself the greatness of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks, that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his mind. But, when night came that he was in his own house, then he was clean changed. For, either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen, that his wife, lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himself. His wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin, not a maiden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, by whom she had also a young son called Bibulus, who afterwards wrote a book of the acts and gests of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young lady being excellently well seen in philosophy, loving her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not ask her husband what he ailed before she had made some proof by her self, she took a little razor such as barbers occupy to pare men's nails, and, causing her maids and women to go out of her chamber, gave her self a great gash withal in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore-blood, and incontinently after a vehement fever took her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving her husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest pain of all she spake in this sort unto

The wonderful faith and secrecy of the conspirators of Caesar's death.

Porcia Cato's daughter wife unto Brutus.

Bibulus' book of Brutus' acts.

Porcia studied in philosophy.

The courage of Porcia.

him: 'I being, O Brutus,' (said she) 'the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee, not to be thy bedfellow and companion in bed and at board only, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and evil fortune. Now for thyself, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I show my duty towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly bear a secret mischance or grief with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confess that a woman's wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: but yet, Brutus, good education, and the company of virtuous men, have some power to reform the defect of nature. And for myself, I have this benefit moreover: that I am the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before: until that now I have found by experience, that no pain nor grief whatsoever can overcome me.' With those words she showed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove her self. Brutus was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good pass, that he might be found a husband worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Caesar would not fail to come, the conspirators determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meet safely at that time without suspicion, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the city would be there. Who, when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man then set-to their hands, for the defence of their liberty. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the council should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the theatre, in the which there was a certain place full of seats for men to sit in, where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had made and consecrated in honour of him, when he did beautify that part of the city with the theatre he built, with diverse porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day

Great difference betwixt a wife and a harlot.

Porcia's words unto her husband Brutus.

of the month of March, which the Romans call, *Idus Martias:* so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought Caesar thither to be slain, for revenge of Pompey's death. So, when the day was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gown, that nobody saw nor knew, but his wife only. The other conspirators were all assembled at Cassius' house, to bring his son into the market-place, who on that day did put on the man's gown, called *toga virilis,* and from thence they came all in a troop together unto Pompey's porch, looking that Caesar would straight come thither. But here is to be noted the wonderful assured constancy of these conspirators, in so dangerous and weighty an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being Praetors, by reason of their office, whose duty is to minister justice to everybody, they did not only with great quietness and courtesy hear them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive ear, as if they had had no other matter in their heads: but moreover, they gave just sentence, and carefully dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certain sum of money refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeal unto Caesar. Then Brutus, casting his eyes upon the conspirators, said, 'Caesar shall not let me to see the law executed.' Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest was Caesar's long tarrying, who came very late to the Senate: for, because the signs of the sacrifices appeared unlucky, his wife Calpurnia kept him at home, and the soothsayers bade him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was when one came unto Casca being a conspirator, and, taking him by the hand, said unto him: 'O Casca, thou keptst it close from me, but Brutus hath told me all.' Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and said: 'Why, how now, how cometh it to pass thou art thus rich, that thou dost sue to be Aedile?' Thus Casca being deceived by the other's doubtful words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senator called Popillius Laenas, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly than he was wont to do, he rounded softly in their ears, and told

The wonderful constancy of the conspirators in killing of Caesar.

Sundry misfortunes [like] to have broken off the enterprise.

them, 'I pray the gods you may go through with that you have taken in hand, but withal, dispatch I read you, for your enterprise is bewrayed.' When he had said, he presently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out. Now in the meantime, there came one of Brutus' men post-haste unto him, and told him his wife was a-dying. For Porcia being very careful and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with so great and inward grief of mind: she could hardly keep within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchants, asking every man that came from the market-place, what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length, Caesar's coming being prolonged as you have heard, Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swooned, that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon came to her self again, and so was laid in her bed, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these news, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his country and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any news he heard. Now, it was reported that Caesar was coming in his litter, for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky signs of the sacrifices) but to adjourn matters of importance unto the next session and council holden, feigning himself not to be well at ease. When Caesar came out of his litter, Popillius Laenas, that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods they might bring this enterprise to pass, went unto Caesar, and kept him a long time with a talk. Caesar gave good ear unto him. Wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Caesar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before, that his talk was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy: they were afraid every man of them, and, one looking in another's face, it was easy to see that they all were of a mind that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when

The weakness of Porcia notwithstanding her former courage.

Cassius and certain other clapped their hands on their swords under their gowns to draw them, Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Laenas, and considering that he did use himself rather like an humble and earnest suitor than like an accuser, he said nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy) but with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after, Laenas went from Caesar, and kissed his hand: which showed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himself, that he had held him so long in talk. Now all the Senators being entered first into this place or chapter-house where the council should be kept, all the other conspirators straight stood about Caesar's chair, as if they had had something to have said unto him. And some say that Cassius, casting his eyes upon Pompey's image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. Trebonius [1], on the other side, drew Antonius aside as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talk without. When Caesar was come into the house, all the house rose to honour him at his coming in. So, when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one [2] Tullius Cimber, who made humble suit for the calling home again of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and took him by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Caesar at the first simply refused their kindness and entreaties: but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Caesar's gown over his shoulders, and Casca that stood behind him drew his dagger first, and struck Caesar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Caesar, feeling himself hurt, took him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: 'O traitor, Casca, what doest thou?' Casca on the other side cried in Greek, and called his brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to fly upon Caesar, he, looking about him to have fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let Casca's

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fearful consorts.

The murther of Caesar. Casca the first that wounded him.

[1] In Caesar's life it is said it was Decius Brutus Albinus that kept Antonius with a talk without.

[2] In Caesar's life he is called Metellus Cimber.

hand go, and, casting his gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one upon another because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloodied. Caesar being slain in this manner, Brutus, standing in the midst of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they, as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon another's neck in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was set down, and agreed between them, that they should kill no man but Caesar only, and should entreat all the rest to defend their liberty. All the conspirators but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and specially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consul with Caesar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that Antonius, being a noble-minded and courageous man, (when he should know that Caesar was dead) would willingly help his country to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him, to follow their courage and virtue. So Brutus by this means saved Antonius' life, who at that present time disguised himself and stale away. But Brutus and his consorts, having their swords bloody in their hands, went straight to the Capitol, persuading the Romans as they went, to take their liberty again. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ran up and down the city, the which indeed did the more increase the fear and tumult. But when they saw they slew no man, neither did spoil or make havoc of anything, then certain of the Senators and many of the people, emboldening themselves, went to the Capitol unto them. There a great

Why Antonius was not slain with Caesar.

Brutus with his consorts went unto the Capitol.

number of men being assembled together one after another, Brutus made an oration unto them to win the favour of the people, and to justify that they had done. All those that were by said they had done well, and cried unto them that they should boldly come down from the Capitol. Whereupon, Brutus and his companions came boldly down into the market-place. The rest followed in troop, but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market-place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all sorts, and had a good-will to make some stir: yet, being ashamed to do it for the reverence they bore unto Brutus, they kept silence, to hear what he would say. When Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit immediately after, they showed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have spoken, and began to accuse Caesar, they fell into a great uproar among them, and marvellously reviled him. Insomuch that the conspirators returned again into the Capitol. There Brutus, being afraid to be besieged, sent back again the noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason that they, which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddess Tellus, to wit, the earth, and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero having made a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to stablish friendship and peace again: it was decreed, that they should not only be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should refer it to the Senate what honours should be appointed unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up, and Antonius the Consul, to put them in heart that were in the Capitol, sent them his son for a pledge. Upon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came down from the Capitol, where every man saluted and embraced each other, among the which, Antonius himself did bid Cassius to supper to him: and Lepidus also bade Brutus, and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called

Honours

again to council did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civil war: then they also gave Brutus and his consorts great praises, and lastly they appointed them several governments of provinces. For unto Brutus, they appointed Crete: Africk, unto Cassius: Asia, unto Trebonius: Bithynia, unto Cimber: and unto the other Decius Brutus Albinus, Gaul on this side the Alps. When this was done, they came to talk of Caesar's will and testament, and of his funerals and tomb. Then Antonius thinking good his testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in hugger-mugger, lest the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise, Cassius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed unto it: wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did was when he would not consent to his fellow-conspirators, that Antonius should be slain. And therefore he was justly accused, that thereby he had saved and strengthened a strong and grievous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was when he agreed that Caesar's funerals should be as Antonius would have them: the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Caesar's testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome seventy-five drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river of Tiber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loved him, and were marvellous sorry for him. Afterwards, when Caesar's body was brought into the market-place, Antonius making his funeral oration in praise of the dead, according to the ancient custom of Rome, and perceiving that his words moved the common people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more, and, taking Caesar's gown all bloody in his hand, he laid it open to the sight of them all, showing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, 'Kill the murtherers:' others plucked up forms, tables, and stalls about the market-place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius, and having laid them

decreed for the murtherers of Caesar.

Caesar's will and funerals.

Brutus committed two great faults after Caesar's death.

Antonius' funeral oration for Caesar.

all on a heap together they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Caesar, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, some here, some there, took burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers' houses that had killed him, to set them afire. Howbeit the conspirators, foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for themselves, and fled. But there was a poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of Caesar's chiefest friends: he dreamed the night before that Caesar bade him to supper with him, and that, he refusing to go, Caesar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where, being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart. This dream put him all night into a fever, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they carried Caesar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the press of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name, Cinna, the people thinking he had been that Cinna, who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Caesar, they falling upon him in their rage slew him outright in the market-place. This made Brutus and his companions more afraid than any other thing, next unto the change of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the city of Antium, hoping to return again to Rome, when the fury of the people were a little assuaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deal with a fickle and unconstant multitude, easy to be carried, and that the Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no inquiry of them that had torn poor Cinna the Poet in pieces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended that went with firebrands to set fire of the conspirators' houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius' pride and insolency, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that Brutus might return again, and it was also looked for, that Brutus would come himself in person to play the plays which were due to the people, by reason of his office of Praetorship. But Brutus understand-

The strange dream of Cinna the poet.

The murther of Cinna the poet, being mistaken for another of that name.

Brutus and his consorts do fly from Rome.

ing that many of Caesar's soldiers which served under him in the wars, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay, did lie in wait for him to kill him, and that they daily by small companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durst no more return thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuously set forth and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had bought a great number of strange beasts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himself as far as Byzantium, to speak to some players of comedies and musicians that were there. And further, he wrote unto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that, whatsoever they did, they should entreat him to play in these plays: 'For,' said he, 'it is no reason to compel any Grecian, unless he will come of his own good-will.' Moreover, he wrote also unto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these plays. Now the state of Rome standing in these terms, there fell out another change and alteration, when the young man Octavius Caesar came to Rome. He was the son of Julius Caesar's niece, whom he had adopted for his son, and made his heir by his last will and testament. But when Julius Caesar his adopted father was slain, he was in the city of Apollonia where he studied, tarrying for him, because he was determined to make war with the Parthians: but, when he heard the news of his death, he returned again to Rome, where, to begin to curry favour with the common people, he first of all took upon him his adopted father's name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed unto them. By this means he troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money got a great number of his father's soldiers together, that had served in the wars with him. And Cicero himself, for the great malice he bore Antonius, did favour his proceedings. But Brutus marvellously reproved him for it, and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorry to have a master, but only to be afraid to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witness that he chose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage, sith by his words and

Brutus' plays and sports at Rome in his absence.

Octavius Caesar's coming to Rome.

Brutus reproved Cicero for taking part with Octavius Caesar.

writings he did commend this young man Octavius Caesar to be a good and gentle lord. 'For our predecessors,' said he, 'would never abide to be subject to any masters, how gentle or mild soever they were:' and, for his own part, that he had never resolutely determined with himself to make war, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondered much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of civil wars, and would not be afraid of a shameful peace: and that, to thrust Antonius out of the usurped tyranny, in recompense he went about to stablish young Octavius Caesar tyrant. These were the contents of Brutus' first letters he wrote unto Cicero. Now, the city of Rome being divided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, other also leaning unto Octavius Caesar, and the soldiers making port-sale of their service to him that would give most: Brutus seeing the state of Rome would be utterly overthrown, he determined to go out of Italy, and went afoot through the country of Luke unto the city of Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia, being ready to depart from her husband Brutus and to return to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the grief and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certain painted table bewrayed her in the end, although until that time she always showed a constant and patient mind. The device of the table was taken out of the Greek stories, how Andromaché accompanied her husband Hector, when he went out of the city of Troy to go to the wars, and how Hector delivered her his little son, and how her eyes were never off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening her self to be in the same case, she fell a-weeping: and, coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acilius, one of Brutus' friends, perceiving that, rehearsed the verses Andromaché speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

Porcia's sorrowful return to Rome for the absence of her husband Brutus.

The story of Hector and Andromaché set forth in painted tables.

> Thou, Hector, art my father, and my mother, and my brother,
> And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other.

Then Brutus, smiling, answered again: 'But yet' (said he) 'I cannot for my part say unto Porcia, as Hector answered Andromaché in the same place of the poet:

Tush, meddle thou with weighing duly out
Thy maids their task, and pricking on a clout.

For indeed the weak constitution of her body doth not suffer her to perform in show the valiant acts that we are able to do: but, for courage and constant mind, she showed her self as stout in the defence of her country, as any of us.' Bibulus, the son of Porcia, reporteth this story thus. Now Brutus embarking at Elea in Luke, he sailed directly towards Athens. When he arrived there, the people of Athens received him with common joys of rejoicing, and honourable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to hear the lectures of Theomnestus Academic philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic, and so would talk with them in philosophy, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gave himself only unto study: howbeit secretly, notwithstanding, he made preparation for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedon, to win the captains and soldiers that were upon those marches, and he did also entertain all the young gentlemen of the Romans, whom he found in Athens studying philosophy: amongst them he found Cicero's son, whom he highly praised and commended, saying, that whether he waked or slept he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into arms: and, being advertised that there came out of Asia a certain fleet of Roman ships that had good store of money in them, and that the captain of those ships (who was an honest man, and his familiar friend) came towards Athens, he went to meet him as far as the Isle of Carystos, and, having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his ships in his hands. Whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birthday. When the feast day came, and that they began to drink lustily one to another, the guests drank to the victory of Brutus, and the liberty of the Romans. Brutus therefore, to encourage them further, called for a bigger cup, and, holding it in his hand, before he drank spake this aloud:

How Brutus bestowed his time in Athens.

Brutus prepareth himself for war.

Brutus commendeth Cicero's son.

My destiny and Phœbus are agreed,
To bring me to my final end with speed.

And for proof hereof it is reported that, the same day he fought his last battle by the city of Philippi, as he came out of his tent he gave his men for the word and signal of battle, *Phoebus*: so that it was thought ever since, that this his sudden crying out at the feast was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him of the money he carried into Italy fifty myriads. Furthermore, all Pompey's soldiers that straggled up and down Thessaly came with very good-will unto him. He took from Cinna also five hundred horsemen, which he carried into Asia, unto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea unto the city of Demetriad, and there took a great deal of armour and munition which was going to Antonius, and the which had been made and forced there by Julius Caesar's commandment, for the wars against the Parthians. Furthermore, Hortensius, governor of Macedon, did resign the government thereof unto him. Besides, all the princes, kings, and noblemen thereabouts came and joined with him, when it was told him that Caius (Antonius' brother), coming out of Italy, had passed the sea, and came with great speed towards the city of Dyrrachium and Apollonia, to get the soldiers into his hands which Gabinius had there. Brutus therefore, to prevent him, went presently with a few of his men in the midst of winter when it snew hard, and took his way through hard and foul countries, and made such speed indeed, that he was there long before Antonius' sumpters that carried the victuals. So that, when he came near unto Dyrrachium, a disease took him which the physicians call βουλιμία, to say, a cormorant and unsatiable appetite to eat: by reason of the cold and pains he had taken. This sickness chanceth often both to men and beasts that travel when it hath snowen: either because the natural heat being retired into the inward parts of the body, by the coldness of the air hardening the skin, doth straight digest and consume the meat: or else because a sharp subtle wind, coming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the body, and driveth out the natural heat which was cast outward. For it seemeth that the heat being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withal coming out of the skin of the body, causeth the sweats that follow the disease. But hereof we have spoken at large in

A strange disease took Brutus at Dyrrachium.

Why by snow this hungry disease taketh men that are wearied with travel.

other places. Brutus being very faint, and having nothing in his camp to eat, his soldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and, coming to the gates of the city, they prayed the warders to help them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meat and drink: in requital whereof afterwards, when he won the city, he did not only entreat and use the citizens thereof courteously, but all the inhabitants of the city also for their sakes. Now, when Caius Antonius was arrived in the city of Apollonia, he sent unto the soldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But, when he understood that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the citizens of Apollonia did favour him much, he then forsook that city, and went unto the city of Buthrotum, but yet he lost three of his ensigns by the way, that were slain every man of them. Then he sought by force to win certain places of strength about Byllis, and to drive Brutus' men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore, to obtain his purpose, he fought a battle with Cicero, the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a captain, and did many notable exploits by his service. Shortly after, having stolen upon Caius Antonius in certain marishes far from the place from whence he fled, he would not set on him with fury, but only rode round about him, commanding his soldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking: and so indeed it happened. For they yielded themselves, and their captain Antonius, unto Brutus: so that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and never took from him the marks and signs of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But, when he saw Antonius secretly practised with his captains to make some alteration, then he sent him into a ship, and made him to be kept there. When the soldiers whom C. Antonius had corrupted were gotten into the city of Apollonia, and sent from thence unto Brutus to come unto them: he made them answer, that it was not the manner of Roman captains to come to the soldiers, but the soldiers to come to the captain, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he

Brutus' thankfulness and clemency.

C. Antonius yielded unto Brutus.

pardoned them. So, Brutus preparing to go into Asia, news came unto him of the great change at Rome. For Octavius Caesar was in arms, by commandment and authority from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But, after that he had driven Antonius out of Italy, the Senate then began to be afraid of him: because he sued to be Consul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other side, Octavius Caesar perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned unto Brutus that was out of Italy, and that they appointed him the government of certain provinces: then he began to be afraid for his part, and sent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then, coming on with his army near to Rome, he made himself to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springal of twenty years old, as himself reporteth in his own commentaries. So, when he was Consul, he presently appointed judges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefest magistrate, without law or judgement: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So the parties accused were condemned, because the judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice went, that when the herald (according to the custom after sentence given) went up to the chair or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed Brutus with a loud voice, summoning him to appear in person before the judges, the people that stood by sighed openly, and the noblemen that were present hung down their heads, and durst not speak a word. Among them, the tears fell from Publius Sicilius' eyes: who, shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlaws appointed to be slain. After that, these three, Octavius Caesar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one. News being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus being then enforced to it, wrote unto Hortensius that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the which

Octavius Caesar joineth with Antonius.

Brutus accused and condemned by Octavius Caesar's means for the death of Julius Caesar.

The Triumvirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

the one was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, he made him to be slain upon his brother's tomb. But then Brutus said, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was slain, than he was otherwise sorry for his death: and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were slaves more through their own fault, than through their valiantness or manhood which usurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faint-hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should only have grieved them to the heart. Now when Brutus had passed over his army (that was very great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the city of Cyzicus, because he would have an army by sea: and himself in the meantime went unto the cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience to princes and noblemen of the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turn him from his journey into Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for themselves that they wandered up and down in that sort, but, contrarily, that it was to restore their country again to their liberty: and that the multitude of soldiers they gathered together was to subdue the tyrants that would keep them in slavery and subjection. Wherefore, regarding their chief purpose and intent, they should not be far from Italy, as near as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could to help their countrymen. Cassius believed him, and returned. Brutus went to meet him, and they both met at the city of Smyrna, which was the first time that they saw together since they took leave of each other at the haven of Piraeus in Athens: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were marvellous joyful, and no less courageous, when they saw the great armies together which they had both levied: considering that they departed out of Italy like naked and poor banished men, without armour and money, nor having any ship ready, nor soldier about them, nor any one town at their commandment: yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, having ships,

Brutus and Cassius do join armies together.

money, and soldiers enow, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the empire of Rome. Now Cassius would have done Brutus as much honour, as Brutus did unto him: but Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel, who sought to rule men by fear, rather than with lenity: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them. But Brutus in contrary manner, for his virtue and valiantness, was well-beloved of the people and his own, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good-will that every man bare him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly believe, that if Pompey himself had overcome Caesar he would have resigned his authority to the law: but rather they were of opinion that he would still keep the sovereignty and absolute government in his hands, taking only, to please the people, the title of Consul or Dictator, or of some other more civil office. And as for Cassius, a hot, choleric, and cruel man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain: it was certainly thought that he made war, and put himself into sundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authority, than to defend the liberty of his country. For they that will also consider others, that were elder men than they, as Cinna, Marius, and Carbo, it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their victory was to be lords of their country: and in manner they did all confess that they fought for the tyranny, and to be lords of the empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themselves did never reprove Brutus for any such change or desire. For it was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that he thought that of all them that had slain Caesar there was none but Brutus only, that was moved to do it as thinking the act commendable of it

The sharp and cruel conditions of Cassius.

Brutus' gentle and fair conditions.

Brutus' intent good, if he had overcome.

Antonius' testimony of Brutus.

self: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him. Hereby it appeareth that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his own virtue: as is to be seen by his writings. For, approaching near to the instant danger, he wrote unto Pomponius Atticus, that his affairs had the best hap that could be. 'For,' said he, 'either I will set my country at liberty by battle, or by honourable death rid me of this bondage.' And furthermore, that, they being certain and assured of all things else, this one thing only was doubtful to them: whether they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that Antonius had his due payment for his folly. For, where he might have been a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and have made one with them, he liked better to choose to be joined with Octavius Caesar alone: 'with whom, though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after also have war with him.' And truly he proved a true prophet, for so came it indeed to pass. Now, whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the city of Smyrna, Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his money, whereof he had great store, because all that he could rap and rend of his side he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by means of them they should keep all the sea at their commandment. Cassius' friends hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: persuading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassius hath gotten together by sparing, and levied with great evil will of the people their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his soldiers, and by this means to win their good-wills by Cassius' charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of his total sum. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius took the city of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used himself: although, when he came into the city, he answered some of the inhabitants, who called him lord and king, that he was neither lord nor king, but he only that had slain him that would have been lord and king. Brutus, departing from thence, sent unto the Lycians to require money, and men of war. But there was a certain orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebel

Brutus noble mind to his country.

Brutus a true prophet of Antonius.

Cassius won the city of Rhodes.

against him, insomuch that the countrymen of that country kept the straits and little mountains, thinking by that means to stop Brutus' passage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stale upon them as they were at dinner, and slew six hundred of them: and, taking all the small towns and villages, he did let all the prisoners he took go without payment of ransom, hoping, by this his great courtesy, to win them to draw all the rest of the country unto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutiny for every small hurt they received as they passed by their country, and did despise his courtesy and good-nature: until that at length he went to besiege the city of the Xanthians, within the which were shut up the cruellest and most warlikest men of Lycia. There was a river that ran by the walls of the city, in the which many men saved themselves, swimming between two waters, and fled: howbeit they laid nets overthwart the river, and tied little bells on the top of them, to sound when any man was taken in the nets. The Xanthians made a sally out by night, and came to fire certain engines of battery that beat down their walls: but they were presently driven in again by the Romans, so soon as they were discovered. The wind by chance was marvellous big, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently carried it into the cranews of the wall of the city, that the next houses unto them were straight set on fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus being afraid that all the city would take on fire, he presently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to save the town if it might be. But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frenzy and strange and horrible despair, that no man can well express it: and a man can no more rightly compare or liken it, than to a frantic and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their wives and children, masters and servants, and of all sorts of age whatsoever, fought upon the ramper of their walls, and did cast down stones and fireworks on the Romans, which were very busy in quenching the flame of the fire to save the city. And in contrary manner also, they brought faggots, dry wood, and reeds, to bring the fire farther into the city as much as might be, increasing it by such things as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all the parts of the city, and that the flame burned bright in every

Brutus' gests in Lycia.

The city of Xanthus set on fire.

The desperate end of the Xanthians.

place, Brutus, being sorry to see it, got upon his horse, and rode round about the walls of the city, to see if it were possible to save it, and held up his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their city, and to save themselves. Howbeit they would not be persuaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselves away, not only men and women, but also little children. For some of them weeping and crying out did cast themselves into the fire: others headlong throwing themselves down from the walls brake their necks: others also made their necks bare to the naked swords of their fathers, and undid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their own hands. After the city was burnt, they found a woman hanged up by the neck, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged up also: and in the other hand a burning torch setting fire on her house. Some would have had Brutus to have seen her, but he would not see so horrible and tragical a sight: but when he heard it he fell a-weeping, and caused a herald to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would give a certain sum of money to every soldier that could save a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) above fifty of them saved, and yet they were saved against their wills. Thus the Xanthians having ended the revolution of their fatal destiny, after a long continuance of time they did through their desperation renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their ancestors. Who in like manner, in the wars of the Persians, did burn their city, and destroyed themselves. Therefore Brutus likewise besieging the city of the Patareans, perceiving that they stoutly resisted him, he was also afraid of that, and could not well tell whether he should give assault to it or not, lest they would fall into the despair and desperation of the Xanthians. Howbeit, having taken certain of their women prisoners, he sent them back again without payment of ransom. Now they that were the wives and daughters of the noblest men of the city, reporting unto their parents that they had found Brutus a merciful, just, and courteous man, they persuaded them to yield themselves and their city unto him, the which they did. So, after they had thus yielded themselves, divers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and found Brutus more merciful and courteous than they thought they should have

The Patareans do yield themselves unto Brutus.

The extreme covetousness and cruelty of Cassius to the Rhodians.

done, but specially far above Cassius. For Cassius, about the self same time, after he had compelled the Rhodians every man to deliver all the ready money they had in gold and silver in their houses, the which being brought together amounted to the sum of eight thousand talents, yet he condemned the city besides to pay the sum of five hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had levied of all the country of Lycia but a hundred and fifty talents only, he departed thence into the country of Ionia, and did them no more hurt. Now Brutus in all this journey did many notable acts and worthy of memory, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserved it: wherefore among the rest I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himself and all the noblemen of the Romans were marvellous glad. When Pompey the Great (having lost the battle against Julius Caesar in the fields of Pharsalia) came and fell upon the coast of Egypt, hard by the city of Pelusium, those that were protectors to the young king Ptolemy, being then but a child, sat in council with his servants and friends, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mind in this consultation: for some thought it good to receive Pompey, others also, that they should drive him out of Egypt. But there was a certain rhetorician called Theodotus, that was born in the Isle of Chios, who was the king's schoolmaster to teach him rhetoric. He, being called to this council for lack of sufficient men, said, that both the one and the other side went awry, as well those that were of opinion to receive Pompey, as the other that would have had him driven away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him, adding withal this sentence, that 'a dead man biteth not.' The whole council stuck to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and unlooked for unto Pompey, Pompey the Great was slain, by the motion and counsel of this wicked rhetorician Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himself boast of it. But, when Julius Caesar came afterwards into Egypt, the wicked men that consented to this counsel had their payment according to their deserts: for they died every man of them a wicked death, saving this Theodotus, whom fortune respited a little while longer, and yet in that

Brutus' clemency unto the Lycians.

Theodotus born in Chios, a rhetorician, schoolmaster to Ptolemy the young king of Egypt.

Theodotus' saying, 'A dead man biteth not.'

time he lived a poor and miserable life, never tarrying long in any one place. So, Brutus going up and down Asia, Theodotus could hide himself no longer, but was brought unto Brutus, where he suffered pains of death: so that he won more fame by his death, than ever he did in his life. About that time, Brutus sent to pray Cassius to come to the city of Sardis, and so he did. Brutus, understanding of his coming, went to meet him with all his friends. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both emperors. Now, as it commonly happeneth in great affairs between two persons, both of them having many friends and so many captains under them, there ran tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade every man avoid, and did shut the doors to them. Then they began to pour out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were both amazed, and afraid also lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one Marcus Favonius, that had been a friend and follower of Cato while he lived, and took upon him to counterfeit a philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certain bedlam and frantic motion: he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keep him out. But it was no boot to let Favonius, when a mad mood or toy took him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynic philosophers (as who would say, Dogs), yet this boldness did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Favonius at that time, in despite of the doorkeepers, came into the chamber, and, with a certain scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer:

Theodotus the Chian, the rhetorician that gave counsel to kill Pompey, was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus and Cassius do meet at the city of Sardis.

Brutus and Cassius' complaints one unto the other.

Marcus Favonius, a follower of Cato.

Cynic philosophers counted dogs.

My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I have seen moe years than suchie three.

Cassius fell a-laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeit Cynic. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The self same night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friends with him. So, when they were set at supper, Favonius came to sit down after he had washed. Brutus told him aloud, no man sent for him, and bade them set him at the upper end, meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. Favonius made no ceremony, but thrust in amongst the midst of them, and made all the company laugh at him: so they were merry all supper-time, and full of their philosophy. The next day after, Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and noted Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a Praetor of the Romans, and whom Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This judgement much misliked Cassius: because he himself had secretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproved Brutus, for that he would show himself so straight and severe, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little, than to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slew Julius Caesar: who neither pilled nor polled the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil by his countenance and authority. And, if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside justice and equity, they should have had more reason to have suffered Caesar's friends to have robbed and done what wrong and injury they had would, than to bear with their own men. For then said he, they could but have said they had been cowards: and now they may accuse us of injustice, besides the pains we take, and the danger we put ourselves into. And thus may we see what Brutus' intent and purpose was. But, as they both prepared to pass over again out of Asia into Europe, there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderful sign unto him. Brutus was a careful man, and slept

Julius Caesar slain at the Ides of March.

The wonderful

very little, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the daytime, and in the night no longer than the time he was driven to be alone, and when everybody else took their rest. But now whilst he was in war, and his head ever busily occupied to think of his affairs, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his weightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some book till the third watch of the night, at what time the captains, petty captains, and colonels did use to come to him. So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when all the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and, casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him, 'I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi.' Brutus, being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: 'Well, then I shall see thee again.' The spirit presently vanished away, and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all. Thereupon Brutus returned again to think on his matters as he did before: and when the day broke he went unto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in the night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicurean, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spoke to him touching the vision thus. 'In our sect, Brutus, we have an opinion, that we do not always feel or see that which we suppose we do both see and feel: but that our senses being credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their own objects), are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that which they in truth do not. For our mind is quick and cunning to work (without either cause or matter) anything in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the mind to the potter: who without any other cause than his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and form he will.

constancy of Brutus in matters of justice and equity.

A spirit appeared unto Brutus in the city of Sardis.

Cassius' opinion of spirits, after the Epicurean sect.

The cause of dreams.

And this doth the diversity of our dreams show unto us. For our imagination doth upon a small fancy grow from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and forms of things imagined. For the mind of man is ever occupied, and that continual moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For, you being by nature given to melancholic discoursing, and of late continually occupied, your wits and senses having been overlaboured do easilier yield to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels, and, if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voices, or any power at all to come unto us: it is a mockery. And for mine own part I would there were such, because that we should not only have soldiers, horses, and ships, but also the aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts.' With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they raised their camp, there came two eagles that flying with a marvellous force lighted upon two of the foremost ensigns, and always followed the soldiers, which gave them meat, and fed them, until they came near to the city of Philippi: and there, one day only before the battle, they both flew away. Now Brutus had conquered the most part of all the people and nations of that country: but, if there were any other city or captain to overcome, then they made all clear before them, and so drew towards the coasts of Thasos. There Norbanus lying in camp in a certain place called the straits, by another place called Symbolon (which is a port of the sea), Cassius and Brutus compassed him in in such sort, that he was driven to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger besides to have lost all his army. For Octavius Caesar could not follow him because of his sickness, and therefore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken his army, had not Antonius' aid been, which made such wonderful speed, that Brutus could scant believe it. So Caesar came not thither of ten days after: and Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on the other side against Caesar. The Romans called the valley between both camps, the Philippian fields: and there were never seen two so great armies of the Romans, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus' army was inferior

A wonderful sign by two eagles.

Brutus' and Cassius' camps before the city of Philippi against

to Octavius Caesar's, in number of men: but, for bravery and rich furniture, Brutus' army far excelled Caesar's. For the most part of their armours were silver and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given them: although in all other things he taught his captains to live in order without excess. But, for the bravery of armour and weapon, which soldiers should carry in their hands, or otherwise wear upon their backs, he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of honour, and that it maketh them also fight like devils, that love to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keep their armour and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now, when they came to muster their armies, Octavius Caesar took the muster of his army within the trenches of his camp, and gave his men only a little corn, and five silver drachmas to every man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for victory. But Brutus, scorning this misery and niggardliness, first of all mustered his army, and did purify it in the fields, according to the manner of the Romans: and then he gave unto every band a number of wethers to sacrifice, and fifty silver drachmas to every soldier. So that Brutus' and Cassius' soldiers were better pleased, and more courageously bent to fight at the day of battle, than their enemies' soldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky signs unto Cassius. For one of his sergeants that carried the rods before him brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he should have worn on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also that another time before, in certain sports and triumph where they carried an image of Cassius' victory of clean gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further, there were seen a marvellous number of fowls of prey, that feed upon dead carcases: and beehives also were found, where bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp: the which place the soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the camp, for to take away the superstitious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius' mind from Epicurus' opinions, and had put the soldiers also in a marvellous fear.

Octavius Caesar and Antonius.

Brutus' soldiers bravely armed.

Brutus' opinion for the bravery of soldiers in their armour and weapons.

Unlucky signs unto Cassius.

Cassius' and Brutus' opinions about the battle.

Thereupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this war at one battle, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armours. But Brutus in contrary manner did alway before, and at that time also, desire nothing more, than to put all to the hazard of battle, as soon as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiving that in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made his men were alway the stronger, and ever had the better, that yet quickened his spirits again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yielded themselves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like, that made many of Cassius' friends, which were of his mind before, (when it came to be debated in council whether the battle should be fought or not), that they were then of Brutus' mind. But yet was there one of Brutus' friends called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tarry the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarrying a year longer? 'If I get nothing else,' quoth Atellius again, 'yet have I lived so much longer.' Cassius was very angry with this answer: and Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight battle the next day. So Brutus all supper-time looked with a cheerful countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of philosophy, and after supper went to bed. ~~But,~~ Touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he took him by the hand, and holding him fast ~~(in token of kindness as his manner was)~~ told him in Greek: 'Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will ~~(as Pompey the Great was)~~ to jeopard the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle. And yet we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should

Atellius' opinion for the battle.

Cassius' words unto Messala the night before the battle.

wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow evil counsel.' Messala writeth, that Cassius having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his birthday. The next morning, by break of day, the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both the chieftains spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speak first, and said: 'The gods grant us, O Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertain, and that if the battle fall out otherwise to-day than we wish or look for, we shall hardly meet again: what art thou then determined to do, to fly, or die?' Brutus answered him, 'Being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world, I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing of himself, as being no lawful nor godly act, touching the gods, nor, concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and fly: but, being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For, if it be not the will of God that this battle fall out fortunate for us, I will look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world.' Cassius fell a-laughing to hear what he said, and embracing him, 'Come on then,' said he, 'let us go and charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the conquerors.' After this talk, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battle. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might have the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was far meeter for Cassius, both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gave it him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions

Brutus and Cassius talk before the battle.

Brutus' answer to Cassius.

they had) should be also in that wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen also were as willing and ready to give charge. Now Antonius' men did cast a trench from the marish by the which they lay, to cut off Cassius' way to come to the sea: and Caesar, at the least his army stirred not. As for Octavius Caesar himself, he was not in his camp, because he was sick. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would have given them battle, but only have made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to have kept them from finishing of their work: but they, taking no heed to them that came full upon them to give them battle, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meantime Brutus, that led the right wing, sent little bills to the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battle: and he himself, riding a-horseback by all the troops, did speak to them, and encouraged them to stick to it like men. So by this means very few of them understood what was the word of the battle, and, besides, the most part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ran with great fury to assail the enemies: whereby, through this disorder, the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, Messala's legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them overthrew some as they went, and so going on further fell right upon Caesar's camp, out of the which (as himself writeth in his commentaries) he had been conveyed away a little before, through the counsel and advice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius: who, dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared unto him, that commanded Octavius Caesar should be carried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slain, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this camp. For amongst others there were slain two thousand Lacedaemonians, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Caesar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon

The battle at Philippi against Octavius Caesar and Antonius.

Caesar's battle, they easily made them fly, because they were greatly troubled for the loss of their camp, and of them there were slain by hand three legions. Then, being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion showed it unto them that were overcome: and that was the left wing of their enemies left naked, and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not break into the midst of their battle, where they found men that received them and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their camp, the which they spoiled, none of both the chieftains being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to fly the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next marish: and no man could tell what became of Octavius Caesar, after he was carried out of his camp. Insomuch that there were certain soldiers that showed their swords bloodied, and said that they had slain him, and did describe his face, and showed what age he was of. Furthermore, the voward and the midst of Brutus' battle had already put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them, but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had overcome them, as himself had done: and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking he had been overthrown, as himself was. And, to prove that the victory fell on Brutus' side, Messala confirmeth it, that they won three eagles, and divers other ensigns of their enemies, and their enemies won never a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slain and sacked Caesar's men, he wondered much that he could not see Cassius' tent standing up high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his camp standing as they were before, because all the whole camp had been

Octavius Caesar falsely reported to be slain at the battle of Philippi.

Cassius' misfortune.

spoiled, and the tents thrown down, at the first coming in of the enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose sight served them better, told him that they saw a great glistering of harness, and a number of silvered targets, that went and came into Cassius' camp, and were not (as they took it) the armours nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp: and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, and great overthrow, as there should have been if so many legions had been slain. This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had happened. So he appointed a number of men to keep the camp of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aid Cassius, who was in this state as you shall hear. First of all he was marvellous angry to see how Brutus' men ran to give charge upon their enemies, and tarried not for the word of the battle nor commandment to give charge, and it grieved him besides that, after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoil, and were not careful to compass in the rest of the enemies behind. But with tarrying too long also, more than through the valiantness or foresight of the captains his enemies, Cassius found himself compassed in with the right wing of his enemies' army. Whereupon his horsemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards the sea. Furthermore, perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an ensign from one of the ensign-bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keep his own guard together. So Cassius himself was at length compelled to fly, with a few about him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassius himself saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his camp before his eyes. He saw also a great troop of horsemen whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brutus' horsemen saw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of Cassius' chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy: and they that were familiarly ac-

Cassius offended with the sundry errors Brutus and his men committed in battle.

Cassius' valiantness in wars.

quainted with him lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about a-horseback, with songs of victory and great rushing of their harness, so that they made all the field ring again for joy. But this marred all. For Cassius thinking indeed that Titinius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: 'Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face.' After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battle of the Parthians where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow: but then casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time Pindarus was never seen more. Whereupon, some took occasion to say, that he had slain his master without his commandment. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But, when he perceived, by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his captain Cassius by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and so slew himself presently in the field. Brutus in the meantime came forward still, and understood also that Cassius had been overthrown: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very near to his camp. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being unpossible that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he: he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thasos, fearing lest his funerals within the camp should cause great disorder. Then he called his soldiers together, and did encourage them again. And when he saw that they had lost all their carriage, which they could not brook well, he promised every man of them two thousand drachmas in recompense. After his soldiers had heard his oration, they were all of them prettily cheered again, wondering much at his great liberality, and waited upon him with

The importance of error and mistaking in wars.

Cassius slain by his man Pindarus.

The death of Titinius.

great cries when he went his way, praising him for that he only of the four chieftains was not overcome in battle. And, to speak the truth, his deeds showed that he hoped not in vain to be conqueror. For with few legions he had slain and driven all them away, that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to run to spoil their goods, surely it was like enough he had slain them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were slain of Brutus' side about eight thousand men, counting the soldiers' slaves, whom Brutus called *Brigas*: and of the enemies' side, as Messala writeth, there were slain, as he supposeth, more than twice as many moe. Wherefore they were more discouraged than Brutus, until that, very late at night, there was one of Cassius' men called Demetrius who went unto Antonius, and carried his master's clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus' enemies, and made them so brave, that, the next morning betimes, they stood in battle ray again before Brutus. But, on Brutus' side, both his camps stood wavering, and that in great danger. For his own camp, being full of prisoners, required a good guard to look unto them: and Cassius' camp on the other side took the death of their captain very heavily, and, besides, there was some vile grudge between them that were overcome and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore Brutus did set them in battle ray, but yet kept himself from giving battle. Now for the slaves that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commanded they should kill them. But, for the freemen, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, than with him. For with them they were slaves and servants: and with him they were freemen and citizens. So, when he saw that divers captains and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no means save their lives, Brutus himself hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius a jester, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them unto him, and did accuse them that, though they were

The number of men slain at the battle of Philippi.

Brutus' clemency and courtesy.

prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorn, and to jest broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied other ways. Whereupon Messala Corvinus said, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, unto the captains of their enemies, to show them their shame, to keep such mates as those in their camp to play the fools, to make them sport. Some that stood by laughed at his device. But Publius Casca, that gave Julius Caesar the first wound when he was slain, said then: 'It doth not become us to be thus merry at Cassius' funerals: and for thee, Brutus, thou shalt show what estimation thou madest of such a captain thy compeer, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloods, who hereafter will mock him, and defame his memory.' Brutus answered again in choler: 'Why then do you come to tell me of it, Casca, and do not yourselves what you think good?' When they heard him say so, they took his answer for a consent against these poor unfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they carried them away, and slew them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the soldiers, and gave them the two thousand drachmas apiece, but yet he first reproved them, because they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battle, before they had the word of battle given them: and made them a new promise also, that, if in the second battle they fought like men, he would give them the sack and spoil of two cities, to wit, Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. In all Brutus' life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainsaid: though Antonius and Octavius Caesar did reward their soldiers far worse for their victory. For, when they had driven all the natural Italians out of Italy, they gave their soldiers their lands and towns, to the which they had no right: and moreover, the only mark they shot at in all this war they made was but to overcome, and reign. Where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus' virtue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to overcome, nor to save himself, otherwise than justly and honestly, and specially after Cassius' death: whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moved Brutus to great cruelty. But now, like as the

Brutus' fault wisely excused by Plutarch.

mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest do seek to nail on some other piece of wood in lieu thereof, and do help themselves to keep them from hurt as much as may be upon that instant danger: even so Brutus having such a great army to govern, and his affairs standing very tickle, and having no other captain coequal with him in dignity and authority, he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also to grant them anything, that he thought might make them serve like noble soldiers at time of need. For Cassius' soldiers were very evil to be ruled, and did show themselves very stubborn and lusty in the camp, because they had no chieftain that did command them, but yet rank cowards to their enemies, because they had once overcome them. On the other side Octavius Caesar and Antonius were not in much better state: for, first of all, they lacked victuals. And, because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battle there had fallen plenty of rain about the autumn, wherethrough all their tents were full of mire and dirt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But, beside all these discommodities, there came news unto them of the great loss they had of their men by sea. For Brutus' ships met with a great aid and supply of men, which were sent them out of Italy, and they overthrew them in such sort, that there escaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eat the tackle and sails of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battle again, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good news for him: for it chanced so, that the battle was fought by sea on the self same day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather than through the malice or negligence of the captains, this victory came not to Brutus' ear till twenty days after. For, had he known of it before, he would not have been brought to have fought a second battle, considering that he had excellent good provision for his army for a long time, and, besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his camp could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had been a quiet lord, being a con-

Brutus' victory by sea.

Wonderful famine among Caesar's soldiers by sea.

The ignorance of Brutus' victory by sea was his utter destruction.

queror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marvellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that pass, that it could no more abide to be governed by many lords, but required one only absolute governor, God, to prevent Brutus that it should not come to his government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day before the last battle was given, very late in the night, came Clodius, one of his enemies, into his camp, who told that Caesar, hearing of the overthrow of his army by sea, desired nothing more than to fight a battle before Brutus understood it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so much that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto Brutus, because they thought it was but a lie devised, to be the better welcome for this good news. The self same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit, which had appeared before unto Brutus in the city of Sardis, did now appear again unto him in the self same shape and form, and so vanished away, and said never a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wise philosopher, that had been with Brutus from the beginning of this war, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith, that the greatest eagle and ensign was covered over with a swarm of bees, and that there was one of the captains whose arm suddenly fell a-sweating, that it dropped oil of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. And that, before the battle was fought, there were two eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought there was a marvellous great silence all the valley over, both the armies, being one before the other, marking this fight between them: and that in the end the eagle towards Brutus gave over, and flew away. But this is certain, and a true tale: that, when the gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that carried the eagle was an Ethiopian, whom the soldiers for ill-luck mangled with their swords. Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, and had set them in battle ray, directly against the voward of his enemy, he paused a long time, before he gave the signal of battle. For Brutus riding up and down to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of

The evil spirit appeared again unto Brutus.

Strange sights before Brutus' second battle.

Brutus' second battle.

them, besides that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreover, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to give charge, but still stayed to see what the footmen would do. Then suddenly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army, called Camulatius, and that was alway marvellously esteemed of for his valiantness until that time, he came hard by Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yield himself unto his enemies. Brutus was marvellously sorry for it, wherefore, partly for anger, and partly for fear of greater treason and rebellion, he suddenly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoon. So in that place where he himself fought in person he had the better, and broke into the left wing of his enemies, which gave him way, through the help of his horsemen that gave charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze and afraid. Howbeit the other also on the right wing, when the captains would have had them to have marched, they were afraid to have been compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number than their enemies, and therefore did spread themselves, and leave the midst of their battle. Whereby they having weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned tail straight, and fled.

Brutus' valiantness and great skill in war.

And those that had put them to flight came in straight upon it to compass Brutus behind, who in the midst of the conflict did all that was possible for a skilful captain and valiant soldier, both for his wisdom, as also for his hardiness, for the obtaining of victory. But that which won him the victory at the first battle did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled were straight cut in pieces: but at the second battle, of Cassius' men that were put to flight, there were few slain: and they that saved themselves by speed, being afraid because they had been overcome, did discourage the rest of the army when they came to join with them, and filled all the army with fear and disorder. There was the

The death of the valiant young man Cato, the son of

son of M. Cato slain, valiantly fighting amongst the lusty youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very weary, and overharried, yet would he not therefore fly, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name and also his father's name, at length he was beaten down

amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about him. So there were slain in the field all the chiefest gentlemen and nobility that were in his army, who valiantly ran into any danger to save Brutus' life. Amongst them there was one of Brutus' friends called Lucilius, who seeing a troop of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and, being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and, because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was afraid of Caesar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking themselves happy men, they carried him in the night, and sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner, they came out of all parts of the camp to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himself, so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they came near together, Antonius stayed awhile bethinking himself how he should use Brutus. In the meantime Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said, 'Antonius, I dare assure thee that no enemy hath taken nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive: and I beseech God keep him from that fortune. For wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself. And now for myself, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of arms here, bearing them down that I was Brutus: and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to.' Lucilius' words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: 'My companions, I think ye are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but, I do assure you, you have taken a better booty than that you followed. For, instead of an enemy, you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men my

Marcus Cato.

The fidelity of Lucilius unto Brutus.

friends as this man here, than enemies.' Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody, and Lucilius ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now Brutus having passed a little river, walled in on either side with high rocks, and shadowed with great trees, being then dark night, he went no further, but stayed at the foot of a rock with certain of his captains and friends that followed him: and looking up to the firmament that was full of stars, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

Brutus flying.

> Let not the wight from whom this mischief went
> (O Jove) escape without due punishment.

Appian meaneth this by Antonius.

And saith that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he had seen slain in battle before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh than before: specially when he came to name Labeo and Flavius, of the which the one was his lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioneers of his camp. In the meantime, one of the company being athirst, and seeing Brutus athirst also, he ran to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the self same time they heard a noise on the other side of the river. Whereupon Volumnius took Dardanus, Brutus' servant, with him, to see what it was: and, returning straight again, asked if there were any water left. Brutus, smiling, gently told them all was drunk, 'but they shall bring you some more.' Thereupon he sent him again that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle, and, to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp), and from thence if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said: 'If Statilius be alive, he will come again.' But his evil fortune was such, that as he came back he lighted in his enemies' hands, and was slain. Now, the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus

The death of Statilius.

one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear, the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him: at length he came to Volumnius himself, and, speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the study's sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and, amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly. Then Brutus rising up, 'We must fly indeed,' said he, 'but it must be with our hands not with our feet.' Then, taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance. 'It rejoiceth my heart that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain of my fortune, but only for my country's sake: for, as for me, I think myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of our courage and manhood, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attain unto by force nor money, neither can let their posterity to say that they, being naughty and unjust men, have slain good men, to usurp tyrannical power not pertaining to them.' Having said so, he prayed every man to shift for themselves, and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say that, not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it: and so ran himself through, and died presently. Messala, that had been Brutus' great friend, became afterwards Octavius Caesar's friend. So, shortly after, Caesar being at good leisure, he brought Strato Brutus' friend unto him, and, weeping, said: 'Caesar, behold, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus.' Caesar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithful service in all his affairs, as any Grecian else he had about him, until the battle of Actium. It is reported also, that this Messala himself answered Caesar one day, when he gave him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly,

Brutus' saying of flying with hands and not with feet.

Strato, Brutus' familiar and friend.

Brutus slew himself.

Strato received into Caesar's friendship.

Messala Corvinus, Brutus' friend.

and with great affection for him, at the battle of Actium, (notwithstanding that he had been his cruel enemy before, at the battle of Philippi, for Brutus' sake): 'I ever loved,' said he, 'to take the best and justest part.' Now, Antonius having found Brutus' body, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest coat-armours he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that this coat-armour was stolen, he put the thief to death that had stolen it, and sent the ashes of his body unto Servilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus' wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill herself (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it) took hot burning coals, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that she choked herself. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife being sick, they would not help her, but suffered her to kill herself, choosing to die rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.

Brutus' funerals.

Porcia, Brutus' wife, killed herself with burning coals.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

Antonius' parentage.

ANTONIUS' grandfather was that famous orator whom Marius slew, because he took Sulla's part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan[1], who was not so famous nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberality and frank nature. One day a friend of his coming to him to pray him to help him to some money, having great need, Antonius by chance had no money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a silver basin, and after he had brought it him he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly after there was a great stir in the house among the servants, seeking out this silver basin. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife marvellously offended by it, and that she would examine all her servants one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Caesar, who, for her virtue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest lady of her time. M. Antonius was brought up under her, being married after her first husband's death unto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catiline's conspiracy against the commonwealth. And this seemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruel and mortal hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius self saith, that he would never give him the body of his father-in-law to bury him, before his mother went first to entreat Cicero's wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied burial to none

The liberality of Antonius' father.

Julia, the mother of M. Antonius.

[1] Because that by his death he ended the war which he unfortunately made against those of Crete.

of them whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fair young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolency, who, to have Antonius the better at his commandment, trained him on into great follies, and vain expenses upon women, in rioting and banqueting. So that in short time he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, and too great for one of his years, to wit, of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which sum Curio was his surety. His father hearing of it did put his son from him, and forbade him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stir and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsook him, being weary of his rashness and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatic, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery, and vain ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Proconsul, going into Syria, persuaded him to go with him. Antonius told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horsemen, and so took him with him. So first of all he sent him against Aristobulus who had made the Jews to rebel, and was the first man himself that got up to the wall of a castle of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him he overcame all the Jews in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and, furthermore, took Aristobulus himself prisoner with his son. Afterwards, Ptolemy king of Egypt, that had been driven out of his country, went unto Gabinius to entreat him to go with his army with him into Egypt, to put him again into his kingdom: and promised him, if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the captains thought it not best to go thither, and Ga-

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

Antonius used in his pleading the Asiatic phrase.

Antonius had charge of horsemen under Gabinius Proconsul, going into Syria.

Antonius' acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius took Aristobulus prisoner.

binius himself made it dainty to enter into this war: although the covetousness of these ten thousand talents stuck sorely with him. But Antonius, that sought but for opportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratify Ptolemy's request, he went about to persuade Gabinius to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelusium, than they feared any danger of the war besides: because they were to pass through deep sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes Serbonian, which the Egyptians call the exhalations or fume by the which the giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the Red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place, where it is divided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Egypt with his horsemen, who did not only win that passage, but also took the city of Pelusium (which is a great city) with all the soldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the army, and the hope of the victory also certain for his captain. Now did the enemies themselves feel the fruits of Antonius' courtesy, and the desire he had to win honour. For, when Ptolemy (after he had entered into the city of Pelusium), for the malice he bare unto the city, would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword, Antonius withstood him, and by no means would suffer him to do it. And in all other great battles and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wise captain: but specially in one battle, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victory that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honourable reward as his valiantness deserved. So was his great courtesy also much commended of all, the which he showed unto Archelaus. For, having been his very friend, he made war with him against his will while he lived: but after his death he sought for his body, and gave it honourable burial. For these respects he won himself great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the soldiers in the Romans' camp. But, besides all this, he had a noble presence, and showed a countenance of one of a noble house:

Antonius acts in Egypt under Gabinius.

Antonius' courtesy unto Archelaus being dead.

Antonius' shape and presence.

The house of the Antonii descended from Hercules.

he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead, crook-nosed, and there appeared such a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pictures, stamped or graven in metal. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended from one Anton, the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name. This opinion did Antonius seek to confirm in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likeness of his body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For, when he would openly show himself abroad before many people, he would always wear his cassock girt down low upon his hips, with a great sword hanging by his side, and, upon that, some ill-favoured cloak. Furthermore, things that seem intolerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other, to drink like a good fellow with everybody, to sit with the soldiers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them soldierlike: it is incredible what wonderful love it won him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him the more desired, and by that means he brought many to love him. For he would further every man's love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But, besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advancement was his liberality, who gave all to the soldiers and kept nothing for himself: and when he was grown to great credit, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himself did overthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will show you one example only of his wonderful liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his money to give a friend of his five-and-twenty myriads: which the Romans call in their tongue, *decies*. His cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind, brought him all this money in a heap together, to show him what a marvellous mass of money it was. Antonius, seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his cofferer answered him, it was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spite of his man, 'I thought,' said he, 'that *decies* had been a greater sum of money than it is, for this is but a trifle:' and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romans maintaining two factions at

Antonius' liberality.

Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that took part with the Senate did join with Pompey being then in Rome, and the contrary side taking part with the people sent for Caesar to aid them, who made wars in Gaul. Then Curio, Antonius' friend, that had changed his garments, and at that time took part with Caesar, whose enemy he had been before, he won Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and sway he bare amongst the people by reason of his eloquent tongue, and partly also by his exceeding expense of money he made which Caesar gave him, that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augur. But this was a great help and furtherance to Caesar's practices. For so soon as Antonius became Tribune he did oppose himself against those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred, (who ordained that certain legions which had been already levied and billed should be given unto Cneius Pompey, with further commission and authority to levy others unto them): and set down an order, that the soldiers which were already levied and assembled should be sent into Syria, for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made war at the time against the Parthians: and, furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should levy no more men, and also that the soldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and followers would not suffer Caesar's letters to be received and openly read in the Senate, Antonius, having power and warrant by his person through the holiness of his Tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their minds: for it appeared to them that Caesar by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Caesar should leave their army, there were few of the Senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his army, but they all in manner commanded Caesar to do it. Then Antonius, rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Caesar both should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators jointly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius they prayed him to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Caesar's friends

Antonius Tribune of the people and Augur.

Antonius' acts for Caesar.

preferred other reasonable demands and requests again, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls, drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grievous curses against him. After that, he took a slave's gown, and speedily fled to Caesar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach. When they came to Caesar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speak their minds, and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with law and justice. Hereupon Caesar incontinently went into Italy with his army, which made Cicero say in his Philippics, that, as Helen was cause of the war of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civil wars, which indeed was a stark lie. For Caesar was not so fickle-headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddenly have gone and made war with his country, upon the sight only of Antonius and Cassius being fled unto him in miserable apparel and in a hired coach, had he not long before determined it with himself. But sith indeed Caesar looked of long time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of war. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to make war with all the world as he did, but one self cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to reign, with a senseless covetousness to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come unto before he had first put down Pompey, and utterly overthrown him. Now, after that Caesar had gotten Rome at his commandment, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to go into Spain, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meantime to make provision for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Praetor, governor of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the soldiers, and of Italy. Then was Antonius straight marvellously commended and beloved of the soldiers, because he commonly exercised himself among them, and would oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberal unto them according to his ability. But then in contrary manner he purchased divers other men's evil wills, because that through negligence he would not do them justice that were

Antonius flieth from Rome unto Caesar.

Cicero reproved for lying.

Alexander, Cyrus, and Caesar all contended to reign.

Caesar's ambition the only cause of the civil war.

Caesar gave the charge of Italy unto Antonius.

Antonius' vices.

injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any suit unto him: and, besides all this, he had an ill name to entice men's wives. To conclude, Caesar's friends that governed under him were cause why they hated Caesar's government (which indeed in respect of himself was no less than a tyranny), by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Caesar notwithstanding, when he returned from the wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the Ionian Sea unto Brundusium, being but slenderly accompanied: and sent unto Antonius and Gabinius, that they should embark their men as soon as they could, and pass them over into Macedon. Gabinius was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter-time: and therefore fetched a great compass about by land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come unto Caesar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he drave away Libo, who rode at anker with a great army before the haven of Brundusium. For he manned out such a number of pinnaces, barks, and other small boats about every one of his galleys, that he drave him thence. After that, he embarked into ships twenty thousand footmen and eight hundred horsemen, and with this army he hoised sail. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the sea rose so high, that the billows put back their galleys that they could not come near him, and so he scaped that danger. But withal he fell upon the rocks with his whole fleet, where the sea wrought very high: so that he was out of all hope to save himself. Yet, by good fortune, suddenly the wind turned south-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves of the river into the main sea. Thus Antonius loosing from the land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he saw all the coasts full of shipwracks. For the force and boisterousness of the wind did cast away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and

Antonius taketh sea with his army at Brundusium, and goeth unto Caesar.

splitted, and divers also cast away, and Antonius took a great number of them prisoners, with a great sum of money also. Besides all these, he took the city of Lissus, and brought Caesar a great supply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two several times, when Caesar's men turned their backs, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to return again to fight: so that the victory fell on Caesar's side. For this cause he had the second place in the camp among the soldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Caesar, but of him: who showed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last battle of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last trial of all, to give the conqueror the whole empire of the world) he himself did lead the right wing of his army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest soldier of all those he had about him. After Caesar had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey step by step: howbeit before he named Antonius general of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The general of the horsemen is the second office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the city: but, when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the only man that remaineth, and all the other officers and magistrates are put down, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innovation: he preferred a law which the Romans call *Novas tabulas* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called the new tables, because they were driven then to make books of daily receipt and expense), and persuaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratify the common people) to aid him to pass this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and took such a conceit of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house, being his cousin-german, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consul with Cicero: and, joining with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought

Antonius' manhood in war.

Antonius led the left wing of Caesar's battle at Pharsalia, where Pompey lost the field.

The dignity of the general of the horsemen.

Dissension betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

with him. Dolabella had gotten the market-place where the people do assemble in council, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the new tables to pass by force. Antonius by commandment of the Senate, who had given him authority to levy men, to use force against Dolabella, he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides. But by this means he got the ill-will of the common people, and, on the other side, the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon vain light huswives: and then in the day-time he would sleep or walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and mask: and himself passed away the time in hearing of foolish plays, or in marrying these players, tumblers, jesters, and such sort of people. As for proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippias' marriage, one of his jesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning, when he came to plead before the people assembled in council, who had sent for him, he, being queasy-stomached with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown instead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheris, of the same profession, whom he loved dearly: he carried her up and down in a litter unto all the towns he went, and had as many men waiting upon her litter, she being but a player, as were attending upon his own mother. It grieved honest men also very much to see that, when he went into the country, he carried with him a great number of cupboards full of silver and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had been the pomp or show of some triumph: and that eftsoons in the midst of his journey he would set up his halls and tents hard by some green grove or pleasant river, and there his cooks should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, lions were harnessed in traces to draw his carts: and besides also, in honest men's houses in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, courtesans, and these tumbling gillots

Antonius' abominable life.

Antonius laid up his stomach before the whole assembly.

Antonius' insolency.

lodged. Now it grieved men much to see, that Caesar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great war, with such great peril and danger, and that others in the meantime, abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts unto their citizens. This methinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Caesar increase more and more, and laid the reins of the bridle upon the soldiers' necks, whereby they durst boldlier commit many extortions, cruelties, and robberies.

Caesar and Lepidus Consuls.

And therefore Caesar after his return pardoned Dolabella, and, being created Consul the third time, he took not Antonius, but chose Lepidus his colleague and fellow-Consul. Afterwards, when Pompey's house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: but, when they asked him money for it, he made it very strange, and was offended with them, and writeth himself that he would not go with Caesar into the wars of Africk, because he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet Caesar did somewhat bridle his madness and insolency, not suffering him to pass his fault so lightly away, making as though he saw them not.

Antonius buyeth Pompey's house.

Antonius married Fulvia, Clodius' widow.

And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia, that was Clodius' widow, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewifery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and command him, that commanded legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandment. Now, because Fulvia was somewhat sour and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many pretty youthful parts to make her merry. As he did once, when Caesar returned the last time of all conqueror out of Spain: every man went out to meet him, and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sudden there ran a rumour through Italy, that Caesar was dead, and that his enemies came again with a great army. Thereupon he returned with speed to Rome, and took one of his men's gowns, and so apparelled came home to his house in a dark night, saying that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he

Fulvia ruled Antonius at home and abroad.

was for being known: but she, taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. Antonius gave her the letters, and said never a word. So when she had opened the letters, and began to read them, Antonius ramped of her neck, and kissed her. We have told you this tale for example's sake only, and so could we also tell you of many suchlike as these. Now, when Caesar was returned from his last war in Spain, all the chiefest nobility of the city rode many days' journey from Rome to meet him, where Caesar made marvellous much of Antonius, above all the men that came unto him. For he always took him into his coach with him, throughout all Italy: and behind him, Brutus Albinus and Octavius, the son of his niece, who afterwards was called Caesar, and became emperor of Rome long time after. So, Caesar being afterwards chosen Consul the fift time, he immediately chose Antonius his colleague and companion: and desired, by deposing himself of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and had already moved it to the Senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate: and Dolabella also spared him as little. Thereupon Caesar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also, when Caesar attempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cried out, that the signs of the birds were against it: so that at length Caesar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvellously offended with him. Now in truth Caesar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Caesar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracy: 'Tush,' said he, 'they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men,' meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slew him. Antonius unwares afterwards gave Caesar's enemies just occasion and colour to do as they did: as you shall hear. The Romans by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Caesar, being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house,

Caesar and Antonius Consuls.

Antonius unwittingly gave Caesar's enemies occasion to conspire against him.

and those specially that be chief officers for that year, who, running naked up and down the city anointed with the oil of olive, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the tribune where Caesar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, having a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come to Caesar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and so he did put this laurel crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he deserved to be king. But Caesar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Caesar again refused it, and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Caesar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Caesar in a rage rose out of his seat, and, plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he showed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Caesar's statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes plucked off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Caesar did turn them out of their offices for it. This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only. He told them that, when they rode to meet Caesar at his return out of Spain, Antonius and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off: but Antonius, finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diadem on Caesar's head.

Brutus and Cassius conspire Caesar's death.

never made Caesar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After that they consulted whether they should kill Antonius with Caesar. But Brutus would in nowise consent to it, saying, that venturing on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clear from all villainy. Yet they, fearing Antonius' power and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that, when Caesar were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keep Antonius in a talk out of the Senate-house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and Caesar was slain in the midst of the Senate. Antonius, being put in a fear withal, cast a slave's gown upon him, and hid himself. But afterwards, when it was told him that the murtherers slew no man else, and that they went only into the Capitol, he sent his son unto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly come down upon his word. The self same day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bade Brutus. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and Antonius himself preferred a law that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces unto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained that they should cancel none of Caesar's laws. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praised, and better esteemed, than ever man was: because it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of civil wars, and that he had showed himself a marvellous wise governor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himself after he had a little felt the goodwill of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himself the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus, did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore, when Caesar's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendation of Caesar, according to the ancient custom of praising noblemen at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Caesar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine, to conclude his

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Caesar.

Antonius maketh uproar among the people for the murther of Caesar.

oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently took Caesar's body, and burnt it in the market-place with such tables and forms as they could get together. Then, when the fire was kindled, they took firebrands, and ran to the murtherers' houses to set them on fire, and to make them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons, were driven to fly the city. Then came all Caesar's friends unto Antonius, and specially his wife Calpurnia, putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her money into his house, which amounted to the sum of four thousand talents, and furthermore brought him all Caesar's books and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he said that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Caesar. Therefore the Romans mocking them that were so moved, they called them Charonites: because that, when they were overcome, they had no other help but to say that thus they were found in Caesar's memorials, who had sailed in Charon's boat, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consul, and Caius, one of his brethren, Praetor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octavius Caesar the younger came to Rome, who was the son of Julius Caesar's niece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawful heir by will, remaining, at the time of the death of his great uncle that was slain, in the city of Apollonia. This young man at his first arrival went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Caesar's friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heir: and withal, he was presently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of trust in his hands, because Caesar had by will bequeathed unto the people of Rome three-score and fifteen silver drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heir stood charged withal. Antonius at the first made no reckon-

Calpurnia, Caesar's wife.

Charonites, why so called.

M. Antonius Consul. Caius Antonius Praetor, Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

ing of him, because he was very young: and said he lacked wit, and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand as to undertake to be Caesar's heir. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his father's goods, but specially for the ready money, then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the people: and also, when Octavius Caesar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chair of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour Caesar with, he threatened to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an uproar. This young Caesar, seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius' enemies, and by them crept into favour with the Senate: and he himself sought the people's goodwill every manner of way, gathering together the old soldiers of the late deceased Caesar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonies. Antonius being afraid of it talked with Octavius in the Capitol, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a strange dream, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Caesar lay in wait to kill him. Caesar cleared himself unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius believe the contrary. Whereupon they became further enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old soldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers towns, and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions on their side, which were already in arms. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Caesar's sergeants to carry axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consul or Praetor: and moreover sent Hirtius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Caesar, who also had an army, went against Antonius that besieged the city of Modena, and there overthrew him in battle: but both the Con-

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octavius Caesar, heir unto Julius Caesar.

Octavius Caesar joined in friendship with Cicero.

Antonius and Octavius became friends.

Antonius' dream.

Antonius judged an enemy by the Senate.

Hirtius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius over-

thrown in battle by the city of Modena.

Antonius patient in adversity.

Antonius' hardness in adversity, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

suls were slain there. Antonius, flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would overcome any adversity, and, the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant showed he himself. Every man that feeleth want or adversity knoweth by virtue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are overlaid with extremity, and be sore oppressed, few have the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much less to avoid that they reprove and mislike. But rather, to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed easy life: and through faint heart, and lack of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderful example to the soldiers to see Antonius, that was brought up in all fineness and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eat wild fruits and roots: and moreover it is reported that, even as they passed the Alps, they did eat the barks of trees, and such beasts as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to join with the legions that was on the other side of the mountains, under Lepidus' charge: whom Antonius took to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Caesar's hand through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and, when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venture himself, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffered his beard to grow at length and never clipped it, that it was marvellous long, and the hair of his head also without combing: and, besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of Lepidus' camp. Then he began to speak unto the soldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the soldiers' ears, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the soldiers took the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius' and Laelius' means, whom they sent unto him disguised in women's apparel, and gave him counsel that he

should not be afraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great number of soldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a little river that ran between them: and himself was the foremost man that took the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus' camp that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and laid flat the bank of their trench to let him into their camp. When he was come into their camp, and that he had all the army at his commandment, he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he always gave Lepidus the name and honour of the captain. Munatius Plancus, lying also in camp hard by with an army, understanding the report of Antonius' courtesy, he also came and joined with him. Thus Antonius being afoot again, and grown of great power, repassed over the Alps, leading into Italy with him seventeen legions and ten thousand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison among the Gauls under the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drink lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotylon: to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Caesar would not lean to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travail and endeavour was only to restore the commonwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certain of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends again: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, Caesar, Antonius, and Lepidus), in an island environed round about with a little river, and there remained three days together. Now, as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did divide all the empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Caesar left Cicero to Antonius' will, Antonius also forsook Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle by his mother, and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Caesar and

Antonius won all Lepidus' army from him.

Varius surnamed Cotylon.

The conspiracy and meeting of Caesar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

The proscription of the Triumviri.

Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change than this was. For, thus changing murther for murther, they did as well kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill: but so much more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed upon between them, the soldiers that were thereabouts would have this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Caesar should marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, and Antonius' wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens of Rome to be put to death by proscription.

Antonius' cruelty unto Cicero.

And Antonius also commanded them to whom he had given commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective orations (called Philippics) against Antonius. So, when the murtherers brought him Cicero's head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes, for the great joy he felt. Then, when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for orations (where when he was alive he had often spoken to the people), as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, showing himself (to his great shame and infamy) a cruel man, and unworthy the office and authority he bare. His uncle Lucius Caesar also, as they sought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled unto his sister. The murtherers coming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she stood at her chamber door with her arms abroad, crying out still: 'You shall not kill Lucius Caesar, before you first kill me, that bare your captain in my womb.' By this means she saved her brother's life. Now the government of these Triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder than Caesar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess, when he left to deal in the affairs of the commonwealth. But, setting aside the ill name

Lucius Caesar's life saved by his sister.

Antonius' riot in his Triumvirate.

he had for his insolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the Great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and civil life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the captains, magistrates of the city, and also ambassadors of strange nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, antic dancers, jugglers, players, jesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzzling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most part of his money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery, and policy. For they did not only sell by the crier the goods of those whom they had outlawed and appointed to murther, slanderously deceived the poor widows and young orphans, and also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes: but, understanding also that the holy Vestal nuns had certain goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of men's in the city, and those also that were abroad, they went thither, and took them away by force. Octavius Caesar perceiving that no money would serve Antonius' turn, he prayed that they might divide the money between them, and so did they also divide the army, for them both to go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meantime they left the government of the city of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they began to make war, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Caesar against Brutus: Caesar did no great matter, but Antonius had always the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battle Caesar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his camp, and very hardly saved himself by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himself in his commentaries that he fled before the charge was given, because of a dream one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some write that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he came after the overthrow whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Caesar. Shortly after they fought

The praise of Pompey the Great.

The valiantness of Antonius against Brutus.

The death of Cassius.

another battle again, in the which Brutus was overthrown, who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glory of all this victory, specially because Caesar was sick at that time. Antonius having found Brutus' body after this battle, blaming him much for the murther of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for revenge of Cicero's cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius than in him, he made Hortensius to be slain on his brother's tomb. Furthermore, he cast his coat armour (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus' body, and gave commandment to one of his slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his burial. But afterwards, Antonius hearing that his enfranchised bondman had not burnt his coat armour with his body, because it was very rich, and worth a great sum of money, and that he had also kept back much of the ready money appointed for his funeral and tomb, he also put him to death. After that Caesar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the sickness he had. Antonius on the other side went towards the east provinces and regions, to levy money: and first of all he went into Greece, and carried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because every soldier was promised five thousand silver drachmas, he was driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages and taxations. At his first coming into Greece, he was not hard nor bitter unto the Grecians, but gave himself only to hear wise men dispute, to see plays, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Greece, ministering justice to every man: and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Philhellene, (as much to say, a lover of the Grecians), and specially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to show Antonius a goodly sight, they prayed him to come and see their Senate-house and council hall. Antonius went thither to see it: so when he had seen it at his pleasure, they asked him, 'My lord, how like you our hall?' 'Methinks' (quoth he) 'it is little, old, and ready to fall down.' Furthermore he took measure of the temple of Apollo Pythius, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus governor in Greece, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the

Brutus slew himself.

Antonius gave honourable burial unto Brutus.

Antonius' great courtesy in Greece.

east parts, and that princes, great lords, and kings came to wait at his gate for his coming out, and that queens and princesses to excel one another gave him very rich presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselves, and using all art that might be to show their beauty, to win his favour the more, (Caesar in the mean space turmoiling his wits and body in civil wars at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad), he easily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight one Anaxenor a player of the cithern, Xouthus a player of the flutes, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in fineness and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italy), all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and, after that, all went awry. For every one gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the city Sophocles speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

The plagues of Italy in riot.

> Was full of sweet perfumes, and pleasant songs,
> With woeful weeping mingled there amongs.

For, in the city of Ephesus, women attired as they go in the feasts and sacrifice of Bacchus came out to meet him with such solemnities and ceremonies as are then used, with men and children disguised like fauns and satyrs. Moreover, the city was full of ivy, and darts wreathed about with ivy, psalterions, flutes, and howboys, and in their songs they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous, and gentle: and so was he unto some, but, to the most part of men, cruel and extreme. For he robbed noblemen and gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers, who oftentimes begged men's goods living, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a citizen's house of Magnesia unto a cook, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second upon Asia. But then Hybreas the Orator, sent from the estates of Asia to tell him the state of their country, boldly said unto him: 'If thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one year upon us, thou shouldst also have power to give us two summers, two autumns, and two harvests.' This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him

Antonius' cruelty in Asia.

Hybreas' words unto Antonius touching their great

payments of money unto him.

well to hear it: but afterwards, amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: 'Asia hath paid the two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then ask account of them that levied it: but, if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone.' Hybreas' words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understood not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authority in his treasure and affairs: not so much because he was careless, as for

Antonius' simplicity.

that he over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plain man, without subtilty, and therefore over late found out the foul faults they committed against him: but when he heard of them he was much offended, and would plainly confess it unto them whom his officers had done injury unto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well-doers: and yet he did exceed more in giving, than in punish-

Antonius' manners.

ing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of every man, that was remedied by itself. For a man might as boldly exchange a mock with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those, which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would never flatter him in good earnest in any matter of weight. But thus he was easily abused by the praises they gave him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flattery, under this familiar and plain manner of speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference of meats with sharp and tart sauce, and also to keep him by this frank jesting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flattery should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easily mislike to have too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would give him place in any matter of weight and follow his counsel, that it might not appear to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understood not so much as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extremest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stir up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seen to any: and, if any spark of goodness or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse than

before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius, going to make war with the Parthians, sent to command Cleopatra to appear personally before him when he came into Cilicia, to answer unto such accusations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. The messenger sent unto Cleopatra to make this summons unto her was called Dellius: who when he had throughly considered her beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a lady, but rather assured himself that within few days she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and persuaded her to come into Cilicia as honourably furnished as she could possible, and bade her not to be afraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous lord than any that she had ever seen. Cleopatra, on the other side, believing Dellius' words, and guessing by the former access and credit she had with Julius Caesar and Cneius Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty, she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Caesar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So she furnished herself with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a realm as Egypt was. But yet she carried nothing with her wherein she trusted more than in herself, and in the charms and enchantment of her passing beauty and grace. Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from his friends, she made so light of it and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, howboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of herself: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus commonly drawn in picture:

Antonius' love to Cleopatra, whom he sent for into Cilicia.

The wonderful sumptuousness of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, going unto Antonius.

Cydnus fl.

and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphs Nereids (which are the mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces, some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet savour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongst the river-side: others also ran out of the city to see her coming in. So that in the end there ran such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market-place in his imperial seat to give audience: and there went a rumour in the people's mouths, that the goddess Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the general good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word again, he should do better rather to come and sup with her. Antonius therefore, to show himself courteous unto her at her arrival, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can express it. But, amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged on the top of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some square, that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mention. The next night, Antonius feasting her contended to pass her in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn the gross service of his house, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptuousness and fineness. And, when Cleopatra found Antonius' jests and slents to be but gross and soldierlike in plain manner, she gave it him finely, and without fear taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And, besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse,

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatra's beauty.

her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of music to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them answer herself, or at the least the most part of them: as the Ethiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Egypt, could scarce learn the Egyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speak the Macedonian. Now Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado with Caesar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the king's lieutenants had given to the only leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia ready to invade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes the most precious thing a man can spend, as Antiphon saith: and that is, time. For they made an order between them, which they called *Amimetobion* (as much to say, no life comparable and matchable with it), one feasting each other by turns, and in cost exceeding all measure and reason. And, for proof hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lamprias report, that one Philotas a physician, born in the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied physic: and that, having acquaintance with one of Antonius' cooks, he took him with him to Antonius' house, (being a young man desirous to see things), to show him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and, amongst others, eight wild boars roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and said, 'Sure you have a great number of guests to supper.' The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him, 'No' (quoth he) 'not many guests, nor above twelve in all: but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For

An order set up by Antonius and Cleopatra.

The excessive expenses of Antonius and Cleopatra in Egypt.

Eight wild boars roasted whole.

Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it longer, for that he hath drunk well to-day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dress one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncertain of the hour he will sup in.' Philotas the Physician told my grandfather this tale, and said moreover, that it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest son of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulvia: and that he sat commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor sup with his father. It chanced one day there came a physician that was so full of words that he made every man weary of him at the board: but Philotas, to stop his mouth, put out a subtle proposition to him. 'It is good in some sort to let a man drink cold water that hath an ague: every man that hath an ague hath it in some sort: ergo, it is good for a man that hath an ague to drink cold water.' The physician was so gravelled and amated withal, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said unto him: 'Philotas, take all that, I give it thee:' showing him his cupboard full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius' men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproved if he took them. Then the young gentleman Antonius said unto him: 'Alas, poor man, why dost thou make it nice to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the son of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not believe me, take rather the ready money they come to: because my father peradventure may ask for some of the plate, for the antique and excellent workmanship of them.' This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now again to Cleopatra. Plato writeth that there are four kinds of flattery, but Cleopatra divided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport or in matters of earnest, still devised sundry

Philotas, a physician born in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, physician to the younger Antonius.

Philotas' subtle proposition.

Plato writeth of four kinds of flattery.

new delights to have Antonius at commandment, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And sometime also, when he would go up and down the city disguised like a slave in the night, and would peer into poor men's windows and their shops, and scold and brawl with them within the house: Cleopatra would be also in a chambermaid's array, and amble up and down the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blows. Now, though most men misliked this manner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jollity, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and wisely, that Antonius showed them a comical face, to wit, a merry countenance: and the Romans a tragical face, to say, a grim look. But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none he was as angry as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hook which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling rod, and brought up fish twice or thrice. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but, when she was alone by herself among her own people, she told them how it was, and bade them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher-boats to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius' men, and to put some old salt-fish upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hook, Antonius, thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a-laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: 'Leave us (my Lord) Egyptians (which dwell in the country of Pharus and Canopus) your angling rod: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realms and countries.' Now

Cleopatra queen of all flatterers.

Antonius' fishing in Egypt.

Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulvia his wife fell out first between themselves, and afterwards fell to open war with Caesar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to fly out of Italy. The second news, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the countries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much ado a little to rouse himself, as if he had been wakened out of a deep sleep, and, as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkenness. So first of all he bent himself against the Parthians, and went as far as the country of Phoenicia: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight returned towards Italy with two hundred sail: and, as he went, took up his friends by the way that fled out of Italy to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this war: who, being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uproar in Italy, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune his wife Fulvia, going to meet with Antonius, sickened by the way, and died in the city of Sicyon: and therefore Octavius Caesar and he were the easilier made friends together. For when Antonius landed in Italy, and that men saw Caesar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia: the friends of both parties would not suffer them to unrip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse between them: but they made them friends together, and divided the empire of Rome between them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces eastward unto Antonius: and the countries westward, unto Caesar: and left Africk unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselves. This seemed to be a sound counsel, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straiter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest sister of Caesar, not by one mother, for she

The wars of Lucius Antonius and Fulvia against Octavius Caesar.

The death of Fulvia, Antonius' wife.

All the empire of Rome divided between the Triumviri.

Octavia, the half-

came of Ancharia, and Caesar himself afterwards of Attia. It is reported that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble lady, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had been widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confess that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Egyptian Cleopatra. Thereupon every man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honesty joined unto so rare a beauty, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a lady deserveth) she should be a good mean to keep good love and amity betwixt her brother and him. So, when Caesar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law that a widow should be married within ten months after her husband's death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicily, and so made many an inroad into Italy with a great number of pinnaces and other pirates' ships, of the which were captains two notable pirates, Menas and Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peep out with a sail. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had courteously received his mother, when she fled out of Italy with Fulvia: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misenum, upon a hill that runneth far into the sea: Pompey having his ships riding hard by at anker, and Antonius and Caesar their armies upon the shore side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicily and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should rid the sea of all thieves and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withal that he should send a certain of wheat to Rome: one of them did feast another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was Pompeius' chance to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: 'And where shall we sup?' 'There,' said Pompey, and showed him his admiral galley which had six banks of oars: 'That' (said he) 'is my father's house they

sister of Octavius Caesar, and daughter of Ancharia, which was not Caesar's mother.

A law at Rome for marrying of widows.

Antonius married Octavia, Octavius Caesar's half-sister.

Antonius and Octavius Caesar do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius'

taunt to Antonius.

have left me.' He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his father's house, that was Pompey the Great. So he cast ankers enow into the sea to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to convey them to his galley from the head of Mount Misenum: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheer. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merry with Antonius' love unto Cleopatra, Menas the Pirate came to Pompey, and, whispering in his ear, said unto him: 'Shall I cut the cables of the ankers, and make thee lord not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole empire of Rome besides?' Pompey, having paused awhile upon it, at length answered him: 'Thou shouldst have done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for myself, I was never taught to break my faith, nor to be counted a traitor.' The other two also did likewise feast him in their camp, and then he returned into Sicily. Antonius, after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keep them they should come no further: and he himself in the meantime, to gratify Caesar, was contented to be chosen Julius Caesar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior unto Caesar, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure, and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of itself was excellent good, and very great,) was altogether blemished and obscured by Caesar's fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. 'For thy demon,' said he, (that is to say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee) 'is afraid of his: and, being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other.' Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Egyptian's words true. For it is said that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have anything, or whether they played at

Sextus Pompeius, being offered wonderful great fortune, for his honesty and faith's sake refused it.

Antonius told by a soothsayer that his fortune was inferior to Octavius Caesar's.

Antonius unfor-

dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes, when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another, Caesar's cocks or quails did ever overcome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward show of it: and therefore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affairs of his house unto Caesar, and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom he carried into Greece, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battle, in the which also were slain Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest captain King Orodes had. For these good news he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Grecians, and many games of price were played at Athens, of the which he himself would be judge. Wherefore, leaving his guard, his axes, and tokens of his empire at his house, he came into the show place (or lists) where these games were played, in a long gown and slippers after the Grecian fashion, and they carried tipstaves before him, as marshals' men do carry before the judges to make place: and he himself in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy olive, and carried a vessel with him of the water of the fountain Clepsydra, because of an oracle he had received that so commanded him. In the meantime, Ventidius once again overcame Pacorus (Orodes' son king of Parthia) in a battle fought in the country of Cyrrestica, he being come again with a great army to invade Syria: at which battle was slain a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus the king's own son slain. This noble exploit, as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romans of the shame and loss they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians fly, and glad to keep themselves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia and Media, after they had thrice together been overcome in several battles. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again: amongst whom he besieged

fortunate in sport and earnest against Octavius Caesar.

Orodes, king of Parthia.

Ventidius' notable victory of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son.

Antiochus, king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius' commandment. But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send unto Antonius, who was not far off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did anything but by his lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the town, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus, after he had set order for the state and affairs of Syria, he returned again to Athens: and, having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians. Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians until this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained unto through Antonius' friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet, to say truly, he did so well quit himself in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Caesar: to wit, that they were always more fortunate when they made war by their lieutenants, than by themselves. For Sossius, one of Antonius' lieutenants in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius, whom he had also left his lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto Mount Caucasus. By these conquests the fame of Antonius' power increased more and more, and grew dreadful unto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius, notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with Caesar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him: and so took sea to go towards Italy with three hundred sail. And, because those of Brundusium would not receive his army into their haven, he went farther unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia, that came out of

Ventidius the only man of the Romans that triumphed for the Parthians.

Canidius' conquests.

New displeasures betwixt Antonius and Octavius Caesar.

Greece with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put herself in journey, and met with her brother Octavius Caesar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Maecenas and Agrippa, with him. She took them aside, and, with all the instance she could possible, entreated them they would not suffer her, that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. 'For now,' said she, 'every man's eyes do gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the emperors and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place (which the gods forbid), and that they grow to wars: for yourselves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory, or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still.' These words of Octavia so softened Caesar's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an army by land not to stir, and so many ships afloat in the road quietly and safe: and, furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Caesar, which he granted unto for his sister's sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Caesar should give Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians: and that Antonius should let Caesar have a hundred galleys armed with brazen spurs at the proes. Besides all this, Octavia obtained of her husband twenty brigantines for her brother, and of her brother for her husband a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Caesar went immediately to make war with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicily into his hands. Antonius also, leaving his wife Octavia and little children begotten of her with Caesar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia, he went directly into Asia. Then began this pestilent plague and mischief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counsel) again to kindle, and to be in force, so soon as Antonius came near unto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rein, (I mean the unreined lust of

The words of Octavia unto Maecenas and Agrippa.

Octavia pacifieth the quarrel betwixt Antonius and her brother, Octavius Caesar.

Plato calleth

concupiscence the horse of the mind.

concupiscence), did put out of Antonius' head all honest and commendable thoughts: for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already he added the provinces of Phoenicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Isle of Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, and that country of Jewry where the true balm is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabataeans do dwell, which stretcheth out towards the ocean. These great gifts much misliked the Romans. But now, though Antonius did easily give away great seigniories, realms, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he took from other kings their lawful realms, (as from Antigonus king of the Jews, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffered like death), yet all this did not so much offend the Romans, as the unmeasurable honours which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill-will towards him, because that, Cleopatra having brought him two twins, a son and a daughter, he named his son Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sun to the one, and the Moon to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shameful deeds with fine words said that the greatness and magnificence of the empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romans took, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seed in divers places: and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity in the womb of one only woman, fearing Solon's laws, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in divers places. Now, when Phraates had slain his father Orodes and possessed the kingdom, many gentlemen of Parthia forsook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Monaeses, a nobleman, and of great authority among his countrymen, who came unto Antonius, that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles, and his own riches and magnificence unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Monaeses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hiera-

Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gave great provinces unto Cleopatra.

Antigonus, king of Jewry, the first king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius' twins by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraates slew his father Orodes, king of Parthia.

polis, which was called before Bombycé. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steal upon Phraates unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standards and ensigns of the Romans, which the Parthians had won in the battle where Marcus Crassus was slain, and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the mean-
10 time he sent Cleopatra back into Egypt, and took his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number: of the which the chiefest was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with six thousand horsemen and seven thousand footmen. There were also of the Romans about three-score thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls reckoned for Romans) to the number of ten thousand, and of other
20 nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light-armed footmen. This so great and puissant army, which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble, served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all winter with her made him begin his war out of due time, and for haste to put all in hazard, being so ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return
30 again, more than how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media, before the Parthians should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged all the country. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were
40 carried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram four-score foot long), being things most

Antonius great and puissant army.

Antonius drunk with the love of Cleopatra.

necessary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough, to make suchlike engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hindrance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was fain, for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall), to force a mount of earth hard to the walls of the city, the which by little and little with great labour rose to some height. In the meantime, King Phraates came down with a great army: who understanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his carriage, and slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people took these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they took also King Polemon. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius' army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good success of the Romans, departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer of this war and journey. On the other side, the Parthians came courageously unto Antonius' camp, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reviled and threatened him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing his men's hearts would fail them: he took ten legions, with three cohorts or ensigns of the Praetors (which are companies appointed for the guard of the general), and all his horsemen, and carried them out to forage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battle. But, when he had marched about a day's journey from his camp, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to give him the onset, and to skirmish with him,

Antonius besiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians took Antonius' engines of battery.

when he would think to march his way. Therefore he set out his signal of battle, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed up, as though he meant not to fight, but only to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a crescent or half moon: and commanded his horsemen, that as soon as they thought the legions were near enough unto their enemies to set upon the voward, that then they should set spurs to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battle ray, beholding the countenance of the Romans as they marched, they appeared to be soldiers indeed, to see them march in so good array as was possible. For in their march they kept the ranks a little space one from another, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But, so soon as the alarm was given, the horsemen suddenly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge courageously, for they were joined nearer them within an arrow's shoot. But, when the legions also came to join with them, shouting out aloud, and rattling of their armours, the Parthians' horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withal, that they all turned tail and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part, of this war. But, after that his footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about four-score men only slain. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory they had slain so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the carriage was taken. The next morning, Antonius' army trussed up their carriage, and marched back towards their camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the Parthians: then going further they met a few moe. So at length, when they all came together, they reviled them and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously as if they had not been overthrown: so that the Romans very hardly got to

Battle betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.

The Romans' good order in their march.

their camp with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for fear from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withal, that he executed the decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and, to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them instead of wheat. Thus this war fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearful. For Antonius could look for no other of his side, but famine: because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loss of his men. Phraates on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to anything else but to lie in camp abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid that if the Romans continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still, that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy and cold, in the equinoctial autumn. Thereupon he called to mind this device. He gave the chiefest of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romans out of their camp, going to forage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision, that they should not distress them too much but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for the which their king did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them a-horseback, greatly blaming Antonius' self-will that did not give their King Phraates occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more than to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit, winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withal, though the Parthians did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return: but yet he would not send unto the king of Parthia, before they had first asked these

Decimation, a martial punishment.

The craft of the Parthians against the Romans.

barbarous people that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their master's words. When they told them the king himself said so, and did persuade them further not to fear or mistrust them, then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demand for the delivery of the ensigns and prisoners he had of the Romans, since the overthrow of Crassus: to the end it should not appear that, if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him: that, for the ensigns and prisoners he demanded, he should not break his head about it: notwithstanding, that, if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius, after he had given his men some time to truss up their carriage, he raised his camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertain his soldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well or better than any captain in his time: yet, being ashamed for respects, he would not speak unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their captain that their captain did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to return the same way he came, being a plain barren country without wood. But there came a soldier to him born in the country of the Mardians, who, by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also showed himself very true and faithful to the Romans, in the battle where Antonius' engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came unto Antonius to counsel him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a prey, being heavily armed, unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraates' fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words to make him raise his siege, that he

Antonius returneth from the journey of the Parthians.

might afterwards meet him as he would in the plains: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all things needful for his army. Antonius, hearing what he said, called his council together to consult upon it. For, after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loath to give them cause to think he mistrusted them: and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and pass by places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in to perform that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his army into the country of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The Mardian perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflown the banks and drowned all the way they should have gone, he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romans for getting too far before them. Thereupon he bade Antonius look to himself, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and slingmen to resist the enemies, and to drive them back, they descried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to break their ranks, and their light-armed men gave charge upon them. So, after they had hurt many of the Romans with their arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets of lead, they retired a little, and then came again and gave charge. Until that the horsemen of the Gauls turned their horses and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rearward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darts and slingmen, and made his army march in a square battle: commanding the

The Parthians do set upon Antonius in his return.

horsemen, that, when the enemies should come to assail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the Parthians four days after, seeing they did no more hurt to the Romans, than they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were commanded, but, excusing themselves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The fift day, Flavius Gallus, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some moe of his light-armed men than were already in the rearward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set upon the tail of the army, and to skirmish with them, Flavius courageously made them retire, but not, as they were wont to do before, to retire and join presently with their army, for he over-rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The captains that had the leading of the rearward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the army, they sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himself the treasurer took the ensigns, and did what he could to make the ensign-bearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperateness he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned again into the army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the voward, he was not aware that he was compassed in. Then seeing himself environed of all sides he sent unto the army, that they should come and aid him: but there the captains that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius, made one) committed many faults. For, where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aid by small companies: and, when they were slain, they sent him others also. So that by their beastliness and lack of consideration they had like to have made all the army fly, if Antonius himself had not come from the front of the battle with the third legion, the which came through the midst of them that fled, until

The bold act of Flavius Gallus.

Canidius fault, Antonius' captain.

they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slain no less than three thousand men, and five thousand besides brought sore hurt into the camp, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in four places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sick and wounded, and for pity's sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also, showing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their emperor and captain: and that, for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed, to say truly, there was not at that time any emperor or captain that had so great and puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of the soldiers, as also for patience to away with so great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they showed unto their captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good-will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men as mean men, the captains and soldiers) so earnestly bent to esteem Antonius' good-will and favour above their own life and safety, that, in this point of martial discipline, the ancient Romans could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius' nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plain nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be merry in company; but specially the care he took at that time to help, visit, and lament those that were sick and wounded, seeing every man to have that which was meet for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sick and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, than those that were whole and sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther), that all night long they kept the fields, and hovered about the Romans' camp, thinking that they would presently fly, and then that they should take the spoil of their camp. So the next morning, by break of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians, than they were before. For the rumour was, that

Flavius Gallus slain.

Antonius' care of them that were wounded.

The love and reverence of the soldiers unto Antonius.

The rare and singular gifts of Antonius.

there were not much fewer than forty thousand horse, because their king sent thither even the very guard about his person, as unto a most certain and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoil and booty they hoped to have had: for, as touching the king himself, he was never in any conflict or battle. Then Antonius, desirous to speak to his soldiers, called for a black gown, to appear the more pitiful to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coat armour, and being so apparelled made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven back their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome prayed him to be of good cheer: the other also to clear themselves willingly offered to take the lots of decimation if he thought good, or otherwise to receive what kind of punishment it should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius, seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories they would now send him some bitter adversity, then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the victory to the rest of his army. The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the army, and so marched forward: so that, when the Parthians thought to return again to assail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For, where they thought to come not to fight but to spoil and make havoc of all, when they came near them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withal. Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet, when the Romans came to go down any steep hills or mountains, then they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romans could go down but fair and softly. But then again, the soldiers of the legion that carried great shields returned back, and enclosed them that were naked or light armed in the midst amongst them, and did kneel of one knee on the ground, and so set down their shields before them: and they of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered

The King of Parthia never came to fight in the field.

Antonius' charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romans' *testudo* and covering against shot.

the second, and so from rank to rank all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with shields was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon houses, and, to sight, was like the degrees of a theatre, and is a most strong defence and bulwark against all arrows and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance of the Roman soldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travail they laid down their bows, and took their spears and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose upon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets Antonius' army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little corn, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it; and, besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eighth part of a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of silver. In the end, they were compelled to live off herbs and roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but only busied himself in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had been a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the last they cast up a great deal of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only sovereign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cried out

Great famine in Antonius' army.

A deadly herb incurable without wine.

sighing, and said: 'O, ten thousand!' He had the valiantness of ten thousand Grecians in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much moe enemies many times told than themselves, and yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore, seeing that they could not break the good order of the army of the Romans, and contrarily that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and well-favouredly beaten, they fell again to their old crafty subtilties. For, when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forage, to seek some corn, or other victuals, they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and showed them their bows unbent, saying that themselves also did return home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they should yet have certain Medes that would follow them a day's journey or two, to keep them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the highways: and so, holding them with this talk, they gently took their leave of them and bade them farewell, so that the Romans began again to think themselves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plain country, because also they should find no water in the mountains, as it was reported unto him. So, as he was determined to take this course, there came into his host one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies' camp, who was cousin unto Monaeses that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius' camp, he prayed them to bring him one that could speak the Parthian or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and said that Monaeses had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and courtesy he had showed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountains afar off, which he pointed unto him with his finger. Alexander answered, he did. The 'Parthians' (said he) 'do lie in ambush at the foot of those mountains, under the which lieth a goodly plain champion country: and they think that you, being deceived with their crafty subtile

The valiantness of ten thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus.

The Parthians very subtile and crafty people.

Mithridates, a Parthian, bewrayeth unto Antonius the conspiracy of his own countrymen against him.

words, will leave the way of the mountains, and turn into the plain. For the other way, it is very hard and painful, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withal: but, if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himself to run the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did.' So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvellously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to hear what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had said. 'For,' said he, 'admit that there were no ambush of enemies in the valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the mountain way, though it be stony and painful, yet there is no other danger but a whole day's travelling without any water.' So Antonius, changing his first mind and determination, removed that night, and took the mountain way, commanding every man to provide himself of water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their sallets and murrions with water, and others also filled goats' skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the Parthians that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the self same night, so that by break of day they overtook the rearward of the Romans, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lack of sleep, that they were even done. For, beyond expectation, they had gone that night two hundred and forty furlongs, and further, to see their enemies so suddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despair: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies back, yet creeping on still. The voward of the army by chance met with a river that was very clear and cold water, but it was salt and venomous to drink: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunk it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And, notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them back that would have kept them from drinking, and so drank. But Antonius going up and down

A salt river.

amongst them prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drink, and that from thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retreat to be sounded to call them back that fought, and commanded the tents to be set up, that the soldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set up, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner, the gentleman Mithridates before named returned again as before, and Alexander in like manner again brought unto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that, after the army had reposed a little, the Romans should remove forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the river: because the Parthians would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deal of gold-plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates took as much of him as he could well carry away in his gown, and so departed with speed. So Antonius raised his camp, being yet daylight, and caused all his army to march, and the Parthians never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadful a night as ever they had. For there were villains of their own company, who cut their fellows' throats for the money they had, and, besides that, robbed the sumpters and carriage of such money as they carried: and at length they set upon Antonius' slaves that drave his own sumpters and carriage, they brake goodly coveteous-tables and rich plate in pieces, and divided it among themselves. Thereupon all the camp was straight in tumult and uproar: for the residue of them were afraid it had been the Parthians that had given them this alarm, and had put all the army out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaves enfranchised that was of his guard, and made him give his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head: because he might not be taken alive of his enemies, nor known when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the heart, that they burst out a-weeping for sorrow. The Mardian also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he sought for was hard by, and that he did guess it by

Antonius' great liberality unto Mithridates for the care he had of his safety.

The tumult of Antonius' soldiers through covetousness.

Antonius' desperate mind.

a sweet moist wind that breathed upon them, and by the air which they found fresher than they were wont, and also for that they fetched their wind more at liberty : and moreover, because that since they did set forward he thought they were near their journey's end, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, Antonius was informed that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile covetousness and villainy of certain of his soldiers. Therefore Antonius, to set his army again in order and to pacify this uproar, sounded the trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day began to break, and the army to fall again into good order, and all the hurly-burly to cease, when the Parthians drew near, and that their arrows lighted among them of the rearward of his army. Thereupon the signal of battle was given to the light-armed men, and the legioners did cover themselves as they had done before with their shields, with the which they received and defended the force of the Parthians' arrows, who never durst any more come to handy-strokes with them : and thus they that were in the voward went down by little and little, till at length they spied the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive back the enemies, and first of all got over his men that were sick and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies had leisure enough to drink safely, and at their pleasure. For, when the Parthians saw the river, they unbent their bows, and bade the Romans pass over without any fear, and greatly commended their valiantness. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they took a little breath, and so marched forward again, not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth day after this last battle, they came to the river of Araxes, which divideth the country of Armenia from Media : the which appeared unto them very dangerous to pass, for the depth and swiftness of the stream. And furthermore, there ran a rumour through the camp, that the Parthians lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilst they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all come safely over without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of Armenia: then they worshipped that land, as if it had been

Araxes fl.

the first land they had seen after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the tears ran down their cheeks, and every man embraced each other for the great joy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitful country so plentiful of all things, after so great a famine and want of all things, they so crammed themselves with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes and dropsies. There Antonius, mustering his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thousand footmen and four thousand horsemen, which had not all been slain by their enemies: for the most part of them died of sickness, making seven-and-twenty days' journey, coming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the Parthians in eighteen several battles. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia had reserved Antonius to end this war. For, if the sixteen thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media had been at these battles, considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthians' manner, and acquainted also with their fight: when the Romans had put them to flight that fought a battle with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered themselves again in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often, after they had been so many times overthrown. Therefore all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army did persuade and egg Antonius to be revenged of this Armenian king. But Antonius wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gave him the worse countenance, nor did him less honour than he did before: because he knew his army was weak, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned again into Armenia with a great army, and so with fair words, and sweet promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come unto him: whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romans, and made them much to mislike it, when they saw that for Cleopatra's sake he deprived his country of her due honour and glory, only to gratify the Egyptians. But

Eighteen several battles fought with the Parthians.

The treachery of Artabazus king of Armenia unto Antonius.

Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia in Egypt.

this was a pretty while after. Howbeit then the great haste he made to return unto Cleopatra caused him to put his men to so great pains, forcing them to lie in the field all winter long when it snew unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came down to the seaside with a small company, unto a certain place called Blanchbourg, which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon, and there tarried for Cleopatra. And, because she tarried longer than he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow. So that he was at such a strait that he wist not what to do, and therefore, to wear it out, he gave himself to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended: but many times, while others banqueted, he ran to the seaside to see if she were coming. At length she came, and brought with her a world of apparel and money to give unto the soldiers. But some say notwithstanding, that she brought apparel but no money, and that she took of Antonius' money, and caused it to be given amongst the soldiers in her own name, as if she had given it them. In the meantime it chanced that the king of the Medes and Phraates king of the Parthians fell at great wars together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoils of the Romans, and grew to be so hot between them, that the king of Medes was no less afraid, than also in danger, to lose his whole realm. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius to pray him to come and make war with the Parthians, promising him that he would aid him to his uttermost power. This put Antonius again in good comfort, considering that, unlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he could not overcome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offered him in that sort, that he did him more pleasure to accept it, than it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the river of Araxes, he prepared himself once more to go through Armenia, and to make more cruel war with the Parthians than he had done before. Now, whilst Antonius was busy in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whom he had left at Rome, would needs take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Caesar was willing

Antonius pined away, looking for Cleopatra.

Cleopatra came to Blanchbourg unto Antonius.

Wars betwixt the Parthians and Medes.

unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors do report), as for that he might have an honest colour to make war with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteem of her as she ought to be. But, when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there until his coming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knew it was but an excuse, yet by her letters to him of answer she asked him whether he would have those things sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparel for soldiers, a great number of horse, sum of money and gifts, to bestow on his friends and captains he had about him: and, besides all those, she had two thousand soldiers, chosen men, all well armed like unto the Praetors' bands. When Niger, one of Antonius' friends whom he had sent unto Athens, had brought these news from his wife Octavia, and withal did greatly praise her, as she was worthy, and well deserved: Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her virtue and honest behaviour (besides the great power of her brother Caesar) she did add thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: she subtilly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pining her body for lack of meat. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance that, when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him like a woman ravished for joy. Straight again, when he went from her, she fell a-weeping and blubbering, looked ruefully of the matter, and still found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then, when he came suddenly upon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readiness to go into Syria to speak with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatra's mind blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard-natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poor lady in such torment for his sake, whose life depended only upon him alone. For Octavia, said they, that was married unto him as it were of necessity, because her brother Caesar's affairs so required it,

Octavia, Antonius' wife, came to Athens to meet with him.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra unto Antonius.

hath the honour to be called Antonius' lawful spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being born a queen of so many thousands of men, is only named Antonius' leman, and yet that she disdained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company and live with him, but, if he once leave her, that then it is unpossible she should live. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements they so wrought Antonius' effeminate mind that, fearing lest she would make herself away, he returned again unto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next year following, although he received news that the Parthians at that time were at civil wars among themselves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his daughter, which was very young, unto one of the sons that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, being fully bent to make war with Caesar. When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Caesar commanded her to go out of Antonius' house, and to dwell by herself, because he had abused her. Octavia answered him again, that she would not forsake her husband's house, and that if he had no other occasion to make war with him she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for, said she, it were too shameful a thing that two so famous captains should bring in civil wars among the Romans, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another. Now, as she spake the word, so did she also perform the deed. For she kept still in Antonius' house, as if he had been there, and very honestly and honourably kept his children, not those only she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome to sue for any office in the commonwealth, she received him very courteously, and so used herself unto her brother that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband made every man hate him, when they saw he did so unkindly use so noble a lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the city of Alexandria. And, to confess a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in

The occasion of civil wars betwixt Antonius and Caesar.

The love of Octavia unto Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behaviour.

Antonius arrogantly divideth divers provinces

derision and contempt of the Romans. For he assembled all the people in the show-place, where young men do exercise themselves, and there upon a high tribunal silvered he set two chairs of gold, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chairs for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and, at that time also, Caesarion king of the same realms. This Caesarion was supposed to be the son of Julius Caesar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the sons he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country: and unto Ptolemy for his portion, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithal he brought out Alexander in a long gown after the fashion of the Medes, with a high copped-tank hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do use to wear them: and Ptolemy apparelled in a cloak after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feet, and a broad hat, with a royal band or diadem. Such was the apparel and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of Alexander the Great. So, after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother, presently a company of Armenian soldiers, set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the Macedonians the other. Now, for Cleopatra, she did not only wear at that time, but at all other times else when she came abroad, the apparel of the goddess Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Caesar reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome, he thereby stirred up all the Romans against him. Antonius on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations he charged him with were these. First, that having spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicily he did not give him his part of the isle. Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the ships he lent him to make that war. Thirdly, that, having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himself the lands and revenues thereof, which

unto his children by Cleopatra.

Caesarion the supposed son of Caesar by Cleopatra.

Alexander and Ptolemy, Antonius' sons by Cleopatra.

Accusations betwixt Octavius Caesar and Antonius.

had been assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner divided all Italy amongst his own soldiers, and had left no part of it for his soldiers. Octavius Caesar answered him again, that, for Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the empire from him, because he did over-cruelly use his authority. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of arms, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that, for his soldiers, they should seek for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and captain. Antonius hearing these news, being yet in Armenia, commanded Canidius to go presently to the seaside with his sixteen legions he had: and he himself with Cleopatra went unto the city of Ephesus, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships of burden: and of those Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thousand talents besides, and provision of victuals also to maintain all the whole army in this war. So Antonius, through the persuasions of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to return again into Egypt, and there to understand the success of this war. But Cleopatra, fearing lest Antonius should again be made friends with Octavius Caesar, by the means of his wife Octavia, she so plied Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokesman unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this war, who defrayed so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because that thereby the Egyptians would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates, that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgement, seeing that long before she had wisely governed so great a realm as Egypt, and besides that she had been so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great affairs. These fair persuasions won him: for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Caesar's hands. Thus, all their forces being joined together,

Antonius came with eight hundred sail against Octavius Caesar.

Antonius carrieth Cleopatra with him

they hoised sail towards the Isle of Samos, and there gave themselves to feasts and solace. For as all the kings, princes, and commonalties, peoples, and cities, from Syria unto the marishes Maeotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fools, and jesters were commanded to assemble in the Isle of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighs, and tears, only in this Isle of Samos there was nothing for many days' space but singing and piping, and all the theatre full of these common players, minstrels, and singing men. Besides all this, every city sent an ox thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man said, 'What can they do more for joy of victory, if they win the battle, when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the war?' When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Priené to keep them withal, during this war. Then he went unto the city of Athens, and there gave himself again to see plays and pastimes, and to keep the theatres. Cleopatra, on the other side, being jealous of the honours which Octavia had received in this city, where indeed she was marvellously honoured and beloved of the Athenians: to win the people's good-will also at Athens, she gave them great gifts: and they likewise gave her many great honours, and appointed certain ambassadors to carry the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who as a citizen of Athens reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalf of the city. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius' children, saving the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with his father, bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accounted one of the chiefest causes of this civil war. The Romans did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seen Cleopatra, who neither excelled Octavia in beauty, nor yet in young years. Octavius Caesar understanding the sudden and wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was

to the wars against Octavius Caesar: and kept great feasting at the Isle of Samos together.

Antonius put his wife Octavia out of his house at Rome.

not a little astonied at it (fearing he should be driven to fight that summer), because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sorely oppress the people. For all manner of men else were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue: but the libertines, (to wit, those whose fathers or other predecessors had sometime been bondmen), they were sessed to pay the eighth part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon there rose a wonderful exclamation and great uproar all Italy over: so that, among the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give Caesar battle. For he gave Caesar leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great sum of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutiny upon it: but, when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius' chiefest friends and that had been both of them Consuls), for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this war, they went and yielded themselves unto Caesar, and told him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestal nuns: of whom Caesar demanded for it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but, if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Caesar went thither, and having read it first to himself he noted certain places worthy of reproach: so, assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter that he, being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Caesar chiefly took hold of this that he ordained touching his burial: for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funeral pomp through the midst of the market-place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatra's sake, Calvisius, one of Caesar's friends, reproved him because he had frankly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royal city of Pergamum, in the which she had above two hundred thousand

Octavius Caesar exacteth grievous payments of the Romans.

Titius and Plancus revolt from Antonius and do yield to Caesar.

A famous library in the city of Pergamum.

several books. Again also, that, being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the board and trod upon Cleopatra's foot, which was a sign given between them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra their sovereign lady. That divers times sitting in his tribunal and chair of state, giving audience to all kings and princes, he had received love-letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of onyx or crystal, and that he had read them, sitting in his imperial seat. That one day when Furnius, a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the Romans, pleaded a matter before him, Cleopatra by chance coming through the market-place in her litter where Furnius was a-pleading, Antonius straight rose out of his seat and left his audience, to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvisius devised the most part of all these accusations of his own head. Nevertheless they that loved Antonius were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminius unto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed, that through his negligence his empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminius being arrived in Greece made Cleopatra jealous straight of his coming: because she surmised that he came not but to speak for Octavia. Therefore she spared not to taunt him all supper-time, and moreover, to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the board, the which he took patiently, expecting occasion to speak with Antonius. Now Antonius commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he answered him, that it was no table-talk, and that he would tell him to-morrow morning fasting: but drunk or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unless Cleopatra were sent back into Egypt. Antonius took these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, 'Thou doest well, Geminius,' said she, 'to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments:' but, within few days after, Geminius stale away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also, to please Cleopatra, did make her drive many other of Antonius' faithful servants and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them: among the which

Furnius, an eloquent orator among the Romans.

Geminius sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heed to himself.

Many of Antonius' friends do forsake him.

these two were chief, Marcus Silanus, and Dellius the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her physician Glaucus told him that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had Cleopatra's displeasure, because he said one night at supper, that they made them drink sour wine, where Sarmentus at Rome drank good wine of Falernus. This Sarmentus was a pleasant young boy, such as the lords of Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastime, which they call their joys, and he was Octavius Caesar's boy. Now after that Caesar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open war against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolish the power and empire of Antonius, because he had before given it up unto a woman. And Caesar said furthermore, that Antonius was not master of himself, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside himself by her charms and amorous poisons, and that they that should make war with them should be Mardian the Eunuch, Pothinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatra's bed-chamber, that frizzled her hair and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affairs of Antonius' empire. Before this war, as it is reported, many signs and wonders fell out. First of all, the city of Pisaurum, which was made a colony to Rome and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore side of the sea Adriatic, was by a terrible earthquake sunk into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set up in the honour of Antonius, in the city of Alba, did sweat many days together: and, though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the city of Patras, whilst Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the city of Athens also, in a place where the war of the giants against the gods is set out in imagery, the statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind was thrown down in the theatre. It was said that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storm of wind overthrew the great monstrous images at Athens, that were made in the honour of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and entitled the Antonians, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many

Antonius' empire taken from him.

Signs and wonders before the civil wars betwixt Antonius and Octavius Caesar.

Pesaro, a city in Italy, sunk into the ground by an earthquake.

besides. The admiral galley of Cleopatra was called Antoniah, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill sign. Swallows had bred under the poop of her ship, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked down their nests. Now, when all things were ready, and that they drew near to fight, it was found that Antonius had no less than five hundred good ships of war, among which there were many galleys that had eight and ten banks of oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meet for fight as for triumph, a hundred thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, and had with him to aid him these kings and subjects following: Bocchus king of Libya, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Commagena, and Sadala king of Thrace. All which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemon king of Pont, Malchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Jewry: and, furthermore, Amyntas king of Lycaonia and of the Galatians: and, besides all these, he had all the aid the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Caesar, he had two hundred and fifty ships of war, four-score thousand footmen, and well near as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part had all under his dominion from Armenia and the river of Euphrates unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Caesar had also for his part all that which was in our hemisphere, or half-part of the world, from Illyria unto the ocean sea upon the west: then all from the ocean unto Mare Siculum: and from Africk all that which is against Italy, as Gaul and Spain. Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrene to Ethiopia was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a woman's will, that, though he was a great deal the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatra's sake he would needs have this battle tried by sea: though he saw before his eyes, that, for lack of watermen, his captains did prest by force all sorts of men out of Greece that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muleteers, reapers, harvest men, and young boys, and yet could they not sufficiently furnish his galleys: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant row, because they lacked watermen enow. But on the contrary side Caesar's ships were not

An ill sign foreshowed by swallows breeding in Cleopatra's ship.

Antonius' power against Octavius Caesar.

Antonius had eight kings, and their power, to aid him.

The army and power of Octavius Caesar against Antonius.

Antonius' dominions.

Octavius Caesar's dominions.

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

built for pomp, high and great, only for a sight and bravery: but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with watermen as many as they needed, and had them all in readiness in the havens of Tarentum and Brundusium. So Octavius Caesar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his own part he would give him safe harbour, to land without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his army from the sea as far as one horse could run, until he had put his army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word again, and challenged the combat of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that, if he refused him so, he would then fight a battle with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Julius Caesar and Pompey had done before. Now, whilst Antonius rode at anker, lying idly in harbour at the head of Actium, in the place where the city of Nicopolis standeth at this present, Caesar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryné, before Antonius understood that he had taken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it, 'And what danger, I pray you,' said she, 'if Caesar keep at Toryné[1]?' The next morning by break of day, his enemies coming with full force of oars in battle against him, Antonius was afraid that if they came to join they would take and carry away his ships, that had no men of war in them. So he armed all his watermen, and set them in order of battle upon the fore-castle of their ships, and then lift up all his ranks of oars towards the element, as well on the one side as on the other, with the proes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulf which beginneth at the point of Actium, and so kept them in order of battle, as if they had been armed and furnished with watermen and soldiers. Thus Octavius Caesar, being finely deceived by this stratagem, retired presently, and therewithal Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where Octavius Caesar landed had

Antonius rode at anker in the head of Actium where the city of Nicopolis standeth.

[1] The grace of this taunt cannot properly be expressed in any other tongue because of the equivocation of this word *Toryné*, which signifieth a city of Albania, and also a ladle to scum the pot with: as if she meant, Caesar sat by the fireside scumming of the pot.

very little store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keep them from sallying out at their pleasure, and so to go seek water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatra's mind. For, he being sick of an ague when he went and took a little boat to go unto Caesar's camp, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage, train, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after. There were certain kings also that forsook him, and turned on Caesar's side: as Amyntas and Deïotarus. Furthermore his fleet and navy that was unfortunate in all things, and unready for service, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battle by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius' determination, he turned him clean contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra back again, and himself to retire into Macedon, to fight there on the mainland. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Getae promised him to aid him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonour to him to let Caesar have the sea, (because himself and his men both had been well practised and exercised in battles by sea, in the war of Sicily against Sextus Pompeius), but rather that he should do against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battles by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valiantness of so many lusty armed footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by dividing them into ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good persuasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battle by sea: considering with herself how she might fly and provide for her safety, not to help him to win the victory, but to fly more easily after the battle lost. Betwixt Antonius' camp and his fleet of ships there was a great high point of firm land that ran a good way into the sea, the which Antonius used often for a walk, without mistrust of fear or danger. One of Caesar's men perceived it, and told his master that he would laugh if they could take up Antonius in the midst of his walk. Thereupon Caesar sent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not

Domitius forsaketh Antonius and goeth unto Octavius Caesar.

Amyntas and Deïotarus do both revolt from Antonius and go unto Caesar.

Antonius in danger

of taking at Actium.

much of taking of him: for they took him that came before him, because they discovered too soon, and so Antonius scaped very hardly. So, when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other ships on fire but three-score ships of Egypt, and reserved only but the best and greatest galleys, from three banks unto ten banks of oars. Into them he put two-and-twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battle, there was a captain, and a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many battles and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him and said: 'O noble emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine and this sword? Let the Egyptians and Phoenicians fight by sea, and set us on the mainland, where we used to conquer, or to be slain on our feet.' Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For, when the masters of the galleys and pilots would have let their sails alone, he made them clap them on, saying to colour the matter withal, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the sea rose so high and was so boisterous, that the battle was put off. The fift day the storm ceased and the sea calmed again, and then they rowed with force of oars in battle one against the other, Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Caelius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius the midst. Octavius Caesar, on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himself. For the armies by land, Canidius was general of Antonius' side, and Taurus of Caesar's side: who kept their men in battle ray the one before the other, upon the seaside, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the chieftains: Antonius, being in a swift pinnace, was carried up and down by force of oars through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on mainland, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their ships: and commanded the pilots and masters of the galleys that

Antonius regardeth not the good counsel of his soldier.

Battle by sea at Actium betwixt Antonius and Caesar.

they should not stir, none otherwise than if they were at anker, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the strait of the gulf. Caesar betimes in the morning, going out of his tent to see his ships throughout, met a man by chance that drave an ass before him. Caesar asked the man what his name was. The poor man told him that his name was Eutychus, to say, Fortunate: and his ass's name Nicon, to say, Conqueror. Therefore Caesar after he had won the battle setting out the market-place with the spurs of the galleys he had taken, for a sign of his victory: he caused also the man and his ass to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his army throughout, he took a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he saw his enemies lie still in the strait, and stirred not. For, discerning them afar off, men would have thought they had been ships riding at anker, and a good while he was so persuaded. So he kept his galleys eight furlong from his enemies. About noon there rose a little gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius' men waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatness and height of their ships, as if they had been invincible, they began to march forward with their left wing. Caesar seeing that was a glad man, and began a little to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the strait and gulf, to the end that he might with his light ships well manned with watermen turn and environ the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their bigness as also for lack of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to join, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For, on the one side, Antonius' ships for their heaviness could not have the strength and swiftness to make their blows of any force: and Caesar's ships, on the other side, took great heed not to rush and shock with the forecastles of Antonius' ships, whose proes were armed with great brazen spurs. Furthermore they durst not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way so ever they came to set upon his ships, that were made of great main square pieces of timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the battle was much like to a battle by land,

A lucky sign unto Octavius Caesar. Eutychus Nicon, fortunate conqueror.

or, to speak more properly, to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Caesar's ships about one of Antonius' ships, and the soldiers fought with their pikes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. Antonius' ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their cross-bows and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood that were upon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Caesar's army, to compass in Antonius' ships that fought, he was driven also to loose off to have more room, and, going a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the battle. For they were sore distressed by Arruntius. Howbeit the battle was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtful, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the three-score ships of Cleopatra busy about their yard-masts, and hoising sail to fly. So they fled through the midst of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great ships, and did marvellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselves wondered much to see them sail in that sort with full sail towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius showed plainly, that he had not only lost the courage and heart of an emperor, but also of a valiant man, and that he was not his own man, (proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, that the soul of a lover lived in another body, and not in his own): he was so carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For, when he saw Cleopatra's ship under sail, he forgot, forsook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and embarked upon a galley with five banks of oars, to follow her that was already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew his galley afar off, she lift up a sign in the poop of her ship, and so Antonius coming to it was plucked up where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and sat down alone in the prow of his ship, and said never a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the meantime came certain light brigantines of Caesar's that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his ship, and presently put the rest to flight, saving

Cleopatra flieth.

The soul of a lover liveth in another body.

Antonius flieth after Cleopatra.

one Eurycles Lacedaemonian, that followed him near and pressed upon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow as though he would have thrown it unto Antonius. Antonius, seeing him, came to the forecastle of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so near? 'I am,' answered he, 'Eurycles the son of Lachares, who through Caesar's good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my father.' This Lachares was condemned of felony and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture upon Antonius' ship, but set upon the other admiral galley (for there were two), and fell upon him with such a blow of his brazen spur, that was so heavy and big, that he turned her round and took her, with another that was loaden with very rich stuff and carriage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he returned again to his place, and sat down, speaking never a word as he did before: and so lived three days alone, without speaking to any man. But, when he arrived at the head of Taenarus, there Cleopatra's women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speak together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there again a great number of merchants' ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow: who brought news that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius to return with his army into Asia by Macedon. Now, for himself, he determined to cross over into Africk, and took one of his carects or hulks loaden with gold and silver and other rich carriage, and gave it unto his friends: commanding them to depart, and to seek to save themselves. They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote unto Theophilus governor of Corinth, that he would see them safe, and help to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Caesar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchised bondmen that revolted from him and yielded unto Caesar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it stood with Antonius. Now,

Antonius licenseth his friends to depart, and giveth them a ship loaden with gold and silver.

for his army by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium, they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more than a great boisterous wind that rose full in the proes of their ships, and yet with much ado his navy was at length overthrown, five hours within night. There were not slain above five thousand men: but yet there were three hundred ships taken, as Octavius Caesar writeth himself in his commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he, that had nineteen legions whole by land and twelve thousand horsemen upon the seaside, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not been throughly acquainted with the diverse changes and fortunes of battles. And yet his soldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some means or other unto them. Furthermore they showed themselves so valiant and faithful unto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled they kept themselves whole together seven days. In the end Canidius, Antonius' lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his camp, when they saw themselves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yielded themselves unto the stronger. This done, Caesar sailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and divided the rest of the corn that was taken up for Antonius' army unto the towns and cities of Greece, the which had been brought to extreme misery and poverty, clean without money, slaves, horse, and other beasts of carriage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus told, that all the citizens of our city of Chaeronea (not one excepted) were driven themselves to carry a certain measure of corn on their shoulders to the seaside, that lieth directly over against the Isle of Anticyra, and yet were they driven thither with whips. They carried it thus but once: for the second time that they were charged again to make the like carriage, all the corn being ready to be carried, news came that Antonius had lost the battle, and so scaped our poor city. For Antonius' soldiers and deputies fled immediately, and the citizens divided the corn amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra before into Egypt from the city of Paraetonium: and he himself remained very solitary, having only two of his

Antonius' navy overthrown by Caesar.

Antonius' legions do yield themselves unto Octavius Caesar.

friends with him, with whom he wandered up and down, both of them orators, the one Aristocrates a Grecian, and the other Lucilius a Roman: of whom we have written in another place, that, at the battle where Brutus was overthrown by the city of Philippi, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: because Brutus in the meantime might have liberty to save himself. And, afterwards, because Antonius saved his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithful and friendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard that he whom he had trusted with the government of Libya, and unto whom he had given the charge of his army there, had yielded unto Caesar: he was so mad withal, that he would have slain himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept him from it. So he went unto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderful enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the Red Sea and the sea between the lands that point upon the coast of Egypt there is a little piece of land, that divideth both the seas and separateth Africk from Asia: the which strait is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlongs over. Cleopatra went about to lift her ships out of the one sea, and to hale them over the strait into the other sea: that, when her ships were come into the Gulf of Arabia, she might then carry all her gold and silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the ocean sea far from the sea Mediterranean, to scape the danger and bondage of this war. But now, because the Arabians dwelling about the city of Petra did burn the first ships that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought that his army by land, which he left at Actium, was yet whole: she left off her enterprise, and determined to keep all the ports and passages of her realm. Antonius, he forsook the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Isle of Pharos, upon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himself from all men's company: saying that he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulness of

Lucilius spoken of in Brutus, life.

The fidelity of Lucilius unto Antonius.

The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra.

Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon *Misanthropos* the Athenian.

those he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that lived about the war of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes' comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to shun all other men's companies but the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apoemantus, wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon answered him, 'I do it,' said he, 'because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians.' This Timon sometimes would have Apoemantus in his company, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Choae at Athens (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead), and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apoemantus said unto the other: 'Oh, here is a trim banquet, Timon.' Timon answered again, 'Yea,' said he, 'so thou wert not here.' It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market-place about dispatch of some affairs) got up into the pulpit for orations, where the orators commonly used to speak unto the people: and silence being made, every man listening to hear what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speak in this manner. 'My Lords of Athens, I have a little yard in my house where there groweth a fig tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves: and, because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that, before the fig tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang yourselves.' He died in the city of Halae, and was buried upon the seaside. Now it chanced so, that, the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it: and upon the same was written this epitaph:

Plato and Aristophanes' testimony of Timon *Misanthropos*, what he was.

Timon *Misanthropos*.

The epitaph of Timon *Misanthropos*.

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft,
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.

It is reported that Timon himself when he lived made this epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus:

Here lie I Timon, who alive all living men did hate,
Pass by, and curse thy fill: but pass, and stay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present. But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his army by land at Actium: on the other side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Jewry, who had also certain legions and bands with him, was revolted unto Caesar, and all the other kings in like manner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so to be rid of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royal palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the city on rioting and banqueting again, and himself to liberality and gifts. He caused the son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romans) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest son he had by Fulvia, the man's gown, the which was a plain gown without guard or embroidery of purple. For these things there was kept great feasting, banqueting, and dancing in Alexandria many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down, which they call *Amimetobion* (as much to say, no life comparable), and did set up another, which they called *Synapothanumenon* (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together), the which in exceeding sumptuousness and cost was not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for every man, when it came to his turn, feasted their whole company and fraternity. Cleopatra in the meantime was very careful in gathering all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now, to make proof of those poisons which

Antonius' rioting in Alexandria after his great loss and overthrow.

Toga virilis. Antyllus, the eldest son of Antonius by his wife Fulvia.

An order erected by Antonius and Cleopatra, called *Synapothanumenon*, revoking the former, called *Amimetobion*.

Cleopatra very busy in proving the force of poison.

made men die with least pain, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For, when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments, and, in contrary manner, that such as were more mild and gentle had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly, she afterwards went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sort and some in another. So, when she had daily made divers and sundry proofs, she found none of them all she had proved so fit as the biting of an aspic, the which causeth only a heaviness of the head, without swooning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face, and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vital powers, no living creature perceiving that the patients feel any pain. For they are so sorry when anybody awaketh them, and taketh them up, as those that being taken out of a sound sleep are very heavy and desirous to sleep. This notwithstanding, they sent ambassadors unto Octavius Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realm of Egypt for their children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Caesar would not let him remain in Egypt. And, because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and, those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were enforced to send Euphronius the schoolmaster of their children. For Alexas Laodicean, who was brought into Antonius' house and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him than any other Grecian (for that he had always been one of Cleopatra's ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well), him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Jewry, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For, where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he persuaded him to turn to Caesar: and, trusting King Herodes, he presumed to come in Caesar's presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his own country, and there by Caesar's commandment put to death. Thus was Alexas

The property of the biting of an aspic.

Antonius and Cleopatra send ambassadors unto Octavius Caesar.

in Antonius' lifetime put to death for betraying of him. Furthermore, Caesar would not grant unto Antonius' requests: but, for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her country. Therewithal he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a very wise and discreet man, who, bringing letters of credit from a young lord unto a noble lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have persuaded her. He was longer in talk with her than any man else was, and the queen herself also did him great honour: insomuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly whipped, and so sent him unto Caesar: and bade him tell him that he made him angry with him, because he showed himself proud and disdainful towards him, and now specially when he was easy to be angered, by reason of his present misery. 'To be short, if this mislike thee,' said he, 'thou hast Hipparchus one of my enfranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance.' From thenceforth Cleopatra, to clear herself of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him than ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune, she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poor, went away rich. Now, things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Caesar prayed him to return to Rome, because the affairs there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did defer the war till the next year following: but, when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africk, to make wars against Antonius, and his other captains. When the city of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumour in the city, that Seleucus, by Cleopatra's consent, had surrendered the same. But, to clear herself that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus' wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombs and monu-

Alexas' treason justly punished.

Pelusium was yielded up to Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatra's monuments set up by the temple of Isis.

ments, as well for excellency of workmanship as for height and greatness of building, joining hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the ancient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, and, besides all that, a marvellous number of torches, faggots, and flax. So Octavius Caesar being afraid to lose such a treasure and mass of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it afire, and burn it every whit: he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meantime drew near the city with his army. So Caesar came, and pitched his camp hard by the city, in the place where they run and manage their horses. Antonius made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he drave Caesar's horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their camp. Then he came again to the palace, greatly boasting of this victory, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of arms unto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his manliness gave him an armour and head-piece of clean gold: howbeit the man at arms, when he had received this rich gift, stale away by night, and went to Caesar. Antonius sent again to challenge Caesar to fight with him hand to hand. Caesar answered him, that he had many other ways to die than so. Then Antonius, seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die than fighting valiantly, he determined to set up his rest, both by sea and land. So, being at supper (as it is reported), he commanded his officers and household servants that waited on him at his board, that they should fill his cups full, and make as much of him as they could: 'For,' said he, 'you know not whether you shall do so much for me to-morrow or not, or whether you shall serve another master: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead body.' This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a-weeping to hear him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not lead them to battle, where he thought not rather safely to return with victory, than valiantly to die with honour. Furthermore, the self same night within little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear

and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this war: it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of music, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they use in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it seemed that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troop that made this noise they heard went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by break of day, he went to set those few footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoining unto the city: and there he stood to behold his galleys which departed from the haven, and rowed against the galleys of his enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploit his soldiers in them would do. But, when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first saluted Caesar's men, and then Caesar's men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the city. When Antonius saw that his men did forsake him, and yielded unto Caesar, and that his footmen were broken and overthrown: he then fled into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made war for her sake. Then she, being afraid of his fury, fled into the tomb which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doors unto her, and shut all the springs of the locks with great bolts, and in the meantime sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. Antonius, believing it, said unto himself: 'What dost thou look for further, Antonius, sith spiteful fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life?' When he had said these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked said thus: 'O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry that, having been so great a captain and emperor, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind than a woman.' Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and

Strange noises heard, and nothing seen.

Antonius' navy do yield themselves unto Caesar.

Antonius overthrown by Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatra flieth into her tomb or monument.

whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command him: and then he willed him to keep his promise. His man drawing his sword lift it up as though he had meant to have stricken his master: but turning his head at one side he thrust his sword into himself, and fell down dead at his master's foot. Then said Antonius, 'O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to show me what I should do to myself, which thou couldst not do for me.' Therewithal he took his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a little when he was laid: and, when he came somewhat to himself again, he prayed them that were about him to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting himself: until at last there came a secretary unto him called Diomedes, who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleopatra her own self, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, triced Antonius up. They that were present to behold it said they never saw so pitiful a sight. For they plucked up poor Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra raised up himself as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra stooping down with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bade her be of good courage, and were as sorry to see her labour so, as she herself. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed, she rent her garments upon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her lord, her husband, and emperor, forgetting her own misery and

Eros, Antonius' servant, slew himself.

Antonius did thrust his sword into himself, but died not presently.

Antonius carried unto Cleopatra's tomb.

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

calamity, for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was athirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seek to save her life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Caesar. And, as for himself, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his days: but rather that she should think him the more fortunate for the former triumphs and honours he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest prince of the world, and that now he was overcome not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman. As Antonius gave the last gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Caesar. For, after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they carried him into the tombs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard called Dercetaeus took his sword with the which he had stricken himself, and hid it: then he secretly stale away, and brought Octavius Caesar the first news of his death, and showed him his sword that was bloodied. Caesar hearing these news straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune that had been his friend and brother-in-law, his equal in the empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battles. Then he called for all his friends, and showed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him again, during their quarrel and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvellously beautify and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would never put herself into Proculeius' hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thick and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranews through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without

The death of Antonius.

Octavius Caesar lamenteth Antonius' death.

Proculeius sent by Octavius Caesar to bring Cleopatra alive.

understood, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdom of Egypt for her sons: and that Proculeius answered her, that she should be of good cheer, and not be afraid to refer all unto Caesar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Caesar. Who immediately sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bade him purposely hold her with talk, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high window by the which Antonius was triced up, and came down into the monument with two of his men, hard by the gate where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her saw Proculeius by chance as he came down, and shrieked out: 'O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken.' Then, when she saw Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed herself in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side.

Cleopatra taken.

But Proculeius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands said unto her: 'Cleopatra, first thou shalt do thyself great wrong, and secondly unto Caesar, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity openly to show his bounty and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble prince that ever was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruel and merciless man that were not to be trusted.' So even as he spake the word he took her dagger from her, and shook her clothes for fear of any poison hidden about her. Afterwards Caesar sent one of his enfranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to look well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not herself away: and, for the rest, to use her with all the courtesy possible. And for himself, he in the meantime entered the city of Alexandria, and, as he went, talked with the philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Caesar so highly esteem and honour him. Then he went into the show-place of exercises, and so up to his chair of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commandment all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who, quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him, and craved mercy. Caesar bade them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned

Caesar took the city of Alexandria.

Caesar greatly honoured Arrius the philosopher.

the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this war: first, for the founder sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very friend Arrius. Thus did Caesar honour Arrius, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and orators of his time for present and sudden speech: howbeit he falsely named himself an academic philosopher. Therefore Caesar, that hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon he let his grey beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse:

Philostratus, the eloquentest orator in his time for present speech upon a sudden.

A wise man if that he be wise indeed,
May by a wise man have the better speed.

Caesar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, as to rid Arrius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him, he pardoned him. Now, touching Antonius' sons, Antyllus his eldest son by Fulvia was slain, because his schoolmaster Theodorus did betray him unto the soldiers, who strake off his head. And the villain took a precious stone of great value from his neck, the which he did sew in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so Caesar trussed him up for it. For Cleopatra's children, they were very honourably kept, with their governors and train that waited on them. But, for Caesarion, who was said to be Julius Caesar's son, his mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the Indians through Ethiopia, with a great sum of money. But one of his governors also called Rhodon, even such another as Theodorus, persuaded him to return into his country, and told him that Caesar sent for him to give him his mother's kingdom. So, as Caesar was determining with himself what he should do, Arrius said unto him:

Antyllus, Antonius' eldest son by Fulvia, slain.

'Too many Caesars is not good.'

The saying of Arrius, the philosopher.

Alluding unto a certain verse of Homer that saith:

Too many lords doth not well.

Therefore Caesar did put Caesarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many princes, great kings,

Caesarion, Cleopatra's

son, put to death.

Cleopatra burieth Antonius.

Olympus, Cleopatra's physician.

Caesar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra a martyred creature through her own passion and fury.

and captains did crave Antonius' body of Octavius Caesar, to give him honourable burial: but Caesar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally bury him with her own hands, whom Caesar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstain from meat, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a physician called Olympus, whom she made privy of her intent, to the end he should help her to rid her out of her life: as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these things. But Caesar mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats Cleopatra for fear yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes, and afterwards suffered herself to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Caesar came himself in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra being laid upon a little low bed in poor state, when she saw Caesar come into her chamber, she suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails, and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbering, and moreover they might see the most part of her stomach torn in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better than her mind: yet her good grace and comeliness and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But, notwithstanding this ugly and pitiful state of hers, yet she showed herself within by her outward looks and countenance. When Caesar had made her lie down again, and sat by her bedside, Cleopatra began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius: Caesar, in contrary manner, reproved her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were afraid to die, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a brief

and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood Seleucus by, one of her treasurers, who, to seem a good servant, came straight to Caesar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. Caesar fell a-laughing, and parted the fray. 'Alas,' said she, 'O Caesar, is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and hast done me this honour, poor wretch and caitiff creature brought into this pitiful and miserable state, and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me: though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out myself withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that, they making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me?' Caesar was glad to hear her say so, persuading himself thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully than she would think for: and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Caesar's very great familiars, and besides did bear no evil will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Caesar determined to take his journey through Syria, and that within three days he would send her away before with her children. When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Caesar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: 'O my dear lord Antonius, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a freewoman: and now I offer unto thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murthering this captive body of mine with blows, which

Seleucus, one of Cleopatra's treasurers.

Cleopatra beat her treasurer before Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatra's words unto Caesar.

Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Caesar, as though she desired to live.

Cleopatra's lamentation over Antonius' tomb.

they carefully guard and keep, only to triumph of thee: look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, sith now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death I fear me they will make us change our countries. For as thou being a Roman hast been buried in Egypt, even so wretched creature I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal, than this small time which I have been driven to live alone without thee.' Then, having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nosegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed herself she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The soldiers that warded at the gates asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and showed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table written and sealed unto Caesar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women: then she shut the doors to her. Caesar, when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden. For those whom Caesar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding

The death of Cleopatra.

of her death. But when they had opened the doors they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman called Charmion half-dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra ware upon her head. One of the soldiers, seeing her, angrily said unto her: 'Is that well done, Charmion?' 'Very well,' said she again, 'and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings'. She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report that this aspic was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that, when she should think to take out the figs, the aspic should bite her before she should see her: howbeit that, when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, 'Art thou here then?' And so, her arm being naked, she put it to the aspic to be bitten. Others say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the aspic, being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head: and yet was there no mark seen of her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb. But it was reported only, that there were seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb side toward the sea, and specially by the door side. Some say also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arm, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Caesar himself gave credit unto, because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an aspic biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Caesar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial. Cleopatra died being eight-and-thirty years old, after she had reigned two-and-twenty years, and governed above fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three-and-fifty years: and others say, six-and-fifty. All his statues, images, and metals were plucked down and overthrown, saving

Cleopatra's two waiting-women dead with her.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an aspic.

The image of Cleopatra carried in triumph at Rome with an aspic biting of her arm.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

those of Cleopatra which stood still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Caesar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which Caesar did put Antyllus, the eldest son he had by Fulvia, to death. Octavia his wife took all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius' daughter, unto King Juba, a marvellous courteous and goodly prince. And Antonius the son of Fulvia came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Caesar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation, he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a son also called Marcellus, Caesar married his daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia perceiving that her brother Caesar was very busy to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best to make his son-in-law: she persuaded him that Agrippa should marry his daughter (Marcellus' widow) and leave her own daughter. Caesar first was contented withal, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards took away her daughter and married her unto Antonius, and Agrippa married Julia, Caesar's daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius. Domitius Ahenobarbus married the one: and the other, which was Antonia, so fair and virtuous a young lady, was married unto Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law of Caesar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Claudius: of the which, Claudius afterwards came to be emperor. And of the sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius came also to be emperor: who, after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slain, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also, having a son by her first husband Ahenobarbus called Lucius Domitius, was afterwards married unto Claudius, who adopted her son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was emperor in our time, and slew his own mother, had almost destroyed the empire of Rome, through his madness and wicked life, being the fift emperor of Rome after Antonius.

Of Antonius' issue came emperors.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF CORIOLANUS

P. 1. ll. 1–8. Cf. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus* ii. 3. 246–53:—

> The noble house o' the Marcians, from whence came
> That Ancus Marcius, Numa's daughter's son,
> Who, after great Hostilius, here was king;
> Of the same house Publius and Quintus were,
> That our best water brought by conduits hither;
> And Censorinus, that was so surnam'd,—
> And nobly nam'd so, twice being censor,—
> Was his great ancestor.

For ll. 251–8 the Folios have:—

> And Nobly nam'd, so *twice* being *Censor*,
> Was his great Ancestor.

Pope inserted:

> And Censorinus, darling of the people.

The eds. of the *Cambridge Shakespeare* suggest rather tamely:

> And Censorinus nobly named so
> Twice being by the people chosen censor.

The emendation quoted above from the *Oxford Shakespeare* is that of Delius.

l. 6. **Conduits.** The 1579 ed. has 'conducts' (see Introd. p. xvii).

P. 2. l. 27—P. 3. l. 4. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* ii. 2. 92 103.

l. 33. **As it were to set up his whole rest,** i.e. to stake his last chance. A favourite idiom of North's, corresponding to Amyot's 'feit tout son dernier effort'. The origin of the phrase is disputed, but it is generally supposed to be a metaphor from the game of primero. 'In primero a player who stood upon the cards in his hand in the hope that they might prove stronger than those held by his opponent was said to stand upon his rest.' (*Cent. Dict.*) For the cognate meaning of 'to make up one's mind' cf. Sh. *Merch. of Ven.* ii. 2. 112–14: 'As I have set up my rest to run away, so I will not rest till I have run some ground.'

P. 4. l. 10. Without. A printer's error, corrected in 1603 and subsequent edd. to 'with'.

ll. 12–19. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1. 38–41, and iii. 2. 107–8.

l. 29. **Two children.** 'Two' is inserted by North. Amyot and Plutarch used the plural simply. Shakespeare mentions one son only. Cf. *Cor.* i. 3. 57, *et passim.*

l. 31 seqq. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1. 85–90.

P. 5. l. 41. Alongst = OE. *andlang* with adverbial genitival suffix *-es.* Owing to confusion with the superlative ending, 't' was added in late ME. Cf. 'amongst,' 'amidst.'

P. 6. ll. 14–29. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1. 101–60 :—

There was a time when all the body's members
Rebell'd against the belly; thus accus'd it:
That only like a gulf it did remain
I' the midst o' the body, idle and unactive,
Still cupboarding the viand, never bearing
Like labour with the rest, where the other instruments
Did see and hear, devise, instruct, walk, feel,
And, mutually participate, did minister
Unto the appetite and affection common
Of the whole body. . . .
With a kind of smile,
. . . . . it tauntingly replied
. . . . . .
'True is it, my incorporate friends,' quoth he,
'That I receive the general food at first,
Which you do live upon; and fit it is;
Because I am the store-house and the shop
Of the whole body; but, if you do remember,
I send it through the rivers of your blood,
Even to the court, the heart, to the seat o' the brain;'
. . . . . .
The senators of Rome are this good belly,
And you the mutinous members; for, examine
Their counsels and their cares, digest things rightly
Touching the weal o' the common, you shall find
No public benefit which you receive
But it proceeds or comes from them to you,
And no way from yourselves!

ll. 30–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1. 221–3.

P. 7. ll. 17–23. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 3. 107–11.

l. 21. **Lartius.** 'Latius' is the reading in all the early edd., though 'Lartius' is found in the margin in all edd.

ll. 23–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 4. 23, and stage direction.

ll. 32–6. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 4. 56–61 :—

Thou wast a soldier
Even to Cato's wish, not fierce and terrible
Only in strokes; but, with thy grim looks and
The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds,
Thou mad'st thine enemies shake, as if the world
Were feverous and did tremble.

The reference to Cato, which is quite in place in Plutarch's narrative, necessarily becomes an apparent anachronism in the play when put into the mouth of one of Coriolanus' contemporaries.

P. 8. ll. 5–7. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 4. 44–5.

'Tis for the followers Fortune widens them,
Not for the fliers: mark me, and do the like.

ll. 22–4. North has here mistranslated Amyot, whose version of the original is correct. 'Et par ce moyen donnerent tout loisir à Lartius, qui estoit dehors, d'ameiner à seureté les Romains audedans.'

ll. 24–32. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 5. 1–14.

l. 26. **Look up.** The 1595 text has 'look up', which is an obvious misprint.

P. 9. l. 2. **Ray.** Aphetic form of 'array'. See *N. E. D.* s.v

l. 10. **All bloody.** Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 6. 28.

ll. 18–20. Contrast Sh. *Cor.* i. 6. 45–6 :—

Com. But how prevail'd you?
Mar. Will the time serve to tell? I do not think.

ll. 22–9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 6. 51–4 :—

Mar. How lies their battle? Know you on which side
They have plac'd their men of trust?
Com. As I guess, Marcius,
Their bands i' the vaward are the Antiates,
Of their best trust.

l. 26. **Voward.** Cf. Shakespeare's 'vaward'. It is the OF. *avant-warde* (mod. *avant-garde*) in an abbreviated form.

ll. 29–30. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 6. 55–9.

l. 31. **When both armies came almost to join.** Plutarch has ὡς δ' ἦσαν ἐμβολαὶ δοράτων, i. e. 'when the shooting began'.

P. 10. ll. 3–11. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* ii. 2. 120–7.

ll. 18–23. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 9. 31–6 :—

Of all the horses,
Whereof we have ta'en good, and good store, of all
The treasure, in this field achiev'd and city,
We render you the tenth; to be ta'en forth,
At the common distribution,
At your only choice.

ll. 23–6. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 9. 58–62.

ll. 25–6. **A goodly horse with a caparison.** These words probably suggested to Shakespeare the curious phrase in which Lartius' extols Martius' valour (*Cor.* i. 9. 11–12).

O general,
Here is the steed, we the caparison.

ll. 31–4. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 9. 36–40 :—

I thank you, general;
But cannot make my heart consent to take
A bribe to pay my sword: I do refuse it;
And stand upon my common part with those
That have beheld the doing.

ll. 34–41. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 9. 79–91. Shakespeare departs from his original here, the lines

'*Lart.* Marcius, his name?
Cor. By Jupiter! forgot.
I am weary; yea, my memory is tir'd,'

having no counterpart in Plutarch. See Introd. p. xxix.

P. 11. l. 9. **The more carelessly he refused.** Cf. Sh. *Gor.* ii. 2. 129 :—

Com. Our spoils he kicked at.

ll. 21–3. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 9. 62–6.

P. 12. l. 4. **Lamyros.** The received Greek text has Λάθυρος, 'a vetch', but it is more likely that Plutarch wrote Λαμυρός, 'wanton.'

Conceitive = witty, arch. See *N. E. D.*

l. 10. **The quick fly.** So all the early edd. Probably a printer's error for 'the quick flier', but in any case a curious rendering of 'Celer'. **Amyot has 'prompt'.**

ll. 11-12. **The cruel fight of fencers at unrebated swords.** North's paraphrase of Plutarch's *μονομάχων ἀγῶνας*, following Amyot's 'escrimeurs à oultrance'.

l. 15. **Proculeius.** So Plutarch; the Latin form is 'Proculus'.

l. 28 seqq. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1 *passim*. See Introd. p. xxx.

P. 14. l. 6. **Prest.** This form is etymologically correct, as it is derived from OF. *prest* = ready. The word points to the time-honoured practice of giving a recruit earnest-money (ready money). The association of the word with the idea of compulsory service caused the modern corruption to 'press'.

l. 25. **The home-tarriers and house-doves that kept Rome still.** A picturesque paraphrase by North of Amyot's 'les austres qui estoyent demourez à Rome'.

ll. 31-6. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* ii. 2. *ad init.*

l. 36—P. 15. l. 4. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* ii. 2. 139-45.

P. 15. l. 29. **Unfoiled.** So all the early edd. Later editors have printed 'unsoiled'. The verb 'foil' in the sense of 'foul' is not uncommon in late ME., and still survives in northern dialects. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Foil'.

ll. 30-7. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* ii. 3 *passim*.

l. 37—P. 16. l. 9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1 *passim*.

P. 17. ll. 15-18. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 41-4 :—

> Of late,
> When corn was given them gratis, you repin'd;
> Scandall'd the suppliants for the people, call'd them
> Time-pleasers, flatterers, foes to nobleness.

ll. 19-23. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 68-71 : —

> In soothing them we nourish 'gainst our senate
> The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition,
> Which we ourselves have plough'd for, sow'd and scatter'd,
> By mingling them with us, the honour'd number.

ll. 23-31. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 90-111.

l. 31—P. 18. l. 8. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 112-38.

> Whoever gave that counsel, to give forth
> The corn o' the store-house gratis, as 'twas us'd
> Sometime in Greece,—
> . . . .
> Though there the people had more absolute power,
> I say, they nourish'd disobedience, fed
> The ruin of the state. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . They know the corn
> Was not our recompense, resting well assur'd
> They ne'er did service for 't. Being press'd to the war,
> Even when the navel of the state was touch'd,
> They would not thread the gates: this kind of service
> Did not deserve corn gratis. Being i' the war,
> Their mutinies and revolts, wherein they show'd
> Most valour, spoke not for them. The accusation
> Which they have often made against the senate,
> All cause unborn, could never be the motive
> Of our so frank donation. Well, what then?

How shall this bisson multitude digest
The senate's courtesy? Let deeds express
What's like to be their words: 'We did request it;
We are the greater poll, and in true fear
They gave us our demands.' Thus we debase
The nature of our seats, and make the rabble
Call our cares, fears; which will in time break ope
The locks o' the senate, and bring in the crows
To peck the eagles.

P. 18. ll. 8–15. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 139–70.

ll. 36–41. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 226–8.

P. 19. ll. 31–4. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 1, 2, and 62–4.

ll. 34–9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 77–9.

P. 20. l. 11. **His wonted boldness of speaking.** Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 162–70, and iii. 3. 67–73.

ll. 21–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 208–13.

P. 22. l. 11–13. See note on P. 19. ll. 31–4.

l. 24. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 11.

ll. 37–9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 4, 5.

P. 23. l. 9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 97–105.

ll. 10–13. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 3. 134–5.

l. 29. **Good-hap.** So edd. 1579 and 1595; later edd. make the obvious correction to 'evil hap'. The compound 'good-hap' was so commonly used as a simple equivalent to 'fortune', that its particular significance may sometimes have been ignored. See *N. E. D.* s.v., and cf. P. 30. l. 33.

P. 24. ll. 2–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 1 *passim*.

ll. 27–30. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iii. 1. 13–15, and the description of their encounter in *Cor.* i. 8.

l. 36. **An ancient poet.** The quotation following is taken from Heraclitus the philosopher. Amyot, or the Latin translator whom he followed, may have been misled by the rhythm of the quotation :— *Θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπόν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται*, which at first sight suggests iambic verse.

P. 25. ll. 1–4. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 4, stage direction *ad init.*

l. 4. **As Homer said.** *Od.* iv. 246. North's version of the quotations from Homer here and elsewhere is probably his own. There does not appear to have been any English translation of Homer before that of Chapman, who published the first instalment of his *Iliad* in 1598.

ll. 11–16. Shakespeare bases a scene of broad comedy on this passage. See *Cor.* iv. 5 *passim*.

l. 20.—P. 26. l. 13. Shakespeare has reproduced this speech almost word for word, and the whole passage deserves careful study. See *Cor.* iv. 5. 60–107 :—

If, Tullus,
Not yet thou know'st me, and, seeing me, dost not
Think me for the man I am, necessity
Commands me name myself.

. . . . . .

My name is Caius Marcius, who hath done
To thee particularly, and to all the Volsces,

Great hurt and mischief; thereto witness may
My surname, Coriolanus: the painful service,
The extreme dangers, and the drops of blood
Shed for my thankless country, are requited
But with that surname: a good memory,
And witness of the malice and displeasure
Which thou shouldst bear me; only that name remains;
The cruelty and envy of the people,
Permitted by our dastard nobles, who
Have all forsook me, hath devour'd the rest;
And suffer'd me by the voice of slaves to be
Whoop'd out of Rome. Now this extremity
Hath brought me to thy hearth; not out of hope,
Mistake me not, to save my life; for if
I had fear'd death, of all men i' the world
I would have 'voided thee; but in mere spite,
To be full quit of those my banishers,
Stand I before thee here. Then if thou hast
A heart of wreak in thee, that will revenge
Thine own particular wrongs and stop those maims
Of shame seen through thy country, speed thee straight,
And make my misery serve thy turn: so use it,
That my revengeful services may prove
As benefits to thee, for I will fight
Against my canker'd country with the spleen
Of all the under fiends. But if so be
Thou dar'st not this, and that to prove more fortunes
Thou art tir'd, then, in a word, I also am
Longer to live most weary, and present
My throat to thee and to thy ancient malice;
Which not to cut would show thee but a fool,
Since I have ever follow'd thee with hate,
Drawn tuns of blood out of thy country's breast,
And cannot live but to thy shame, unless
It be to do thee service.

P. 26. l. 1. My enemies. The 1595 text has 'thy', clearly a printer's error.

l. 2. **Wrecked**, i. e. wreaked.

P. 27. l. 12 seqq. This story may have suggested to Shakespeare the Tribunes' order for the public whipping of the messenger who brought the news of the Volscians' invasion. Cf. *Cor.* iv. 6. 61.

l. 30. **Limmer.** ME. form of 'limber', the shaft of a cart. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Limber'.

P. 28. l. 26. Charrets. OF. *charrette.* This word must not be confused with 'chariot', which is the O. F. *chariot.* The 'charret' properly is a two-wheeled cart. 'Charet' occurs almost uniformly in the Bible of 1611, but it has been altered in later editions. See *N. E. D.* s. vv. 'Charet' and 'Chariot'.

P. 30. ll. 13–15. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 6. 119–24.

ll. 15–17. Cp. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 6. 70, 1.

P. 31. l. 1. Entered. So Amyot. Plutarch has ἐπόρθει = ravaged. There may have been a *v. l.* ἐπορεύθη.

l. 27. **Wrack.** OE. *wræc.* The modern 'rack' is a variant of this, in the phrase 'rack and ruin'.

ll. 39–40. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 6. 139 seqq.

P. 32. ll. 35–9. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 1 *passim.*

ll. 38–9. **They found nothing less.** Cf. the common German idiom *nichts weniger als . . .*

P. 33. ll. 20–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* iv. 7 *passim.*

l. 36. **Treason.** Probably a printer's error for 'reason', which is required by the context. The correction was first made in the edition of 1603.

P. 34. l. 31. **Threw out . . . their holy anker.** So Amyot, 'jecta l'anchre sacrée.' Plutarch's phrase is ἡ βουλὴ . . . ἅπασα τὴν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς ἀφῆκεν. This is probably a metaphor from the Greek game akin to the modern draughts. ἡ ἱερά (sc. γράμμη) was the middle line of the board, and it was considered risky play to move a piece beyond it. In this case the passage would mean 'moved their piece from the middle line of the board', i. e. 'tried their last chance'. The chief difficulty about this rendering is the gender of τήν (sc. λίθον), for λίθος = 'piece' is elsewhere masculine. But ἡ λίθος = pebble is common enough, and by Plutarch's time the feminine use may have been extended. The origin of Amyot's phrase must be found in the idiom ἄγκυραν ἀφιέναι = to cast anchor, coupled with the use of ἡ ἱερὰ ἄγκυρα = the last hope. But the construction of the passage appears to preclude this rendering.

Anker. OE. *ancor.* The modern spelling 'anchor' is a pedantic corruption due to the erroneous Lat. *anchora.* See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 35. l. 5. **This goodly rabble of superstition and priests.** An instance of *Hendiadys.* 1603 and later edd. have 'superstitious priests'.

l. 17. *Od.* v. 427.

l. 20. *Il.* ix. 459. Plutarch preserves a variant of the received text, reading τρίψεν φρένας in place of παῦσεν χόλον.

l. 25. *Od.* ix. 339. The subject of the sentence in Homer is 'Cyclops', and not 'the people'.

l. 32. *Od.* ix. 299.

P. 36. l. 2. *Il.* i. 188–9.

l. 5. *Il.* vi. 161–2.

l. 11. **Objecteth** has the force of the Latin *obicere.* See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Object' v. 2.

l. 17. **Apparent,** i. e. clear, palpable. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

ll. 26–32. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 64–7.

P. 38. l. 4. **Martius' children.** See note on P. 4. l. 29, and cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3, stage direction following l. 68.

ll. 9–27. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 19–93.

l. 28.—P. 39. l. 14. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 94–125 :—

Should we be silent and not speak, our raiment
And state of bodies would bewray what life
We have led since thy exile. Think with thyself
How more unfortunate than all living women
Are we come hither: since that thy sight, which should
Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
Constrains them weep, and shake with fear and sorrow;
Making the mother, wife, and child to see

The son, the husband, and the father tearing
His country's bowels out. And to poor we
Thine enmity's most capital: thou barr'st us
Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
That all but we enjoy; for how can we,
Alas! how can we for our country pray,
Whereto we are bound, together with thy victory,
Whereto we are bound? Alack! or we must lose
The country, our dear nurse, or else thy person,
Our comfort in the country. We must find
An evident calamity, though we had
Our wish, which side should win; for either thou
Must, as a foreign recreant, be led
With manacles through our streets, or else
Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
And bear the palm for having bravely shed
Thy wife and children's blood. For myself, son,
I purpose not to wait on Fortune till
These wars determine: if I cannot persuade thee
Rather to show a noble grace to both parts
Than seek the end of one, thou shalt no sooner
March to assault thy country than to tread—
Trust to 't, thou shalt not—on thy mother's womb,
That brought thee to this world.

P. 39. ll. 17–40. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 132–48.

l. 24. **Gaol-delivery.** Used in the figurative sense of 'complete delivery'. Properly, the clearing a gaol of prisoners by bringing them to trial.

P. 40. ll. 4–23. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 153–82.

ll. 26–30. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 182–9:—

O, mother, mother!
What have you done? . . . . .
. . . . . O my mother! mother! O!
You have won a happy victory to Rome;
But, for your son, believe it, O! believe it,
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,
If not most mortal to him.

l. 34. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 4. 45:—

The Volscians are dislodg'd, and Marcius gone.

P. 41. ll. 7–13. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 4. 67–73.

ll. 19–20. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 3. 206–7.

P. 43. l. 25. **Ought**, i. e. owed. OE. *āhton.*

ll. 31–5. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 5. 84–6.

l. 39.—P. 44. l. 2. Cf. Sh. *Cor.* v. 5. 143–6.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR

P. 49. l. 11. **Good cheap**, i. e. at a good bargain. Cf. Fr. *bon marché.*

l. 15. **The highway going unto Appius.** The 1603 ed. rightly has 'the highway called Appius' way', following Amyot's 'du

grand chemin, qui s'appelle la voye d'Appius'. It is hardly conceivable that North can have taken 'Appius' to be the name of a town, but it is difficult to explain the reading in the text on any other hypothesis.

ll. 30-1. **In their greatest ruff**, i. e. at their height. From the particular meaning of ruff, as an article of dress, came the meaning of 'an open display', something spread out. Cf. G. Harvey, *Foure Letters*:—'It were not greatly amiss a little to consider that he, which in the ruff of his freshest jollity was fain to cry M. Churchyard a mercy in print, may be orderly driven to cry more *peccavi's* than one.' See *Cent. Dict.* s. v.

P. 50. l. 14. **Kinred.** OE. *cynn-rǣden*. The medial 'd' was inserted later for the sake of euphony.

l. 32. **The suit being equal.** Literally, the canvassing showing nearly equal results on either side, *ἀγχωμάλου τῆς σπουδῆς φαινομένης*.

P. 51. l. 5. **Catulus and Piso.** The correct rendering would be 'Catulus and Piso and their friends', corresponding to Plutarch's *οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλον*, but Amyot and North always ignore this particular idiom.

ll. 16-37. Cf. Jonson, *Catiline*, v. 6 *passim*.

P. 52. l. 19. **Five hundred and fifty.** In Plutarch 'seven hundred and fifty'.

l. 20. **Myriads**, i. e. sums of 10,000 drachmae.

l. 36. **The good goddess.** *Bona Dea*, the goddess of chastity.

l. 40. **A nymph of wood**, i. e. a Dryad.

P. 53. l. 31. **Abra.** This is not a proper name at all, but merely a colloquial Greek word for a favourite slave. North followed Amyot.

P. 57. l. 2. **Let.** See note on P. 143, l. 28.

l. 16. **Pompey's daughter.** The 1579 and 1595 edd. have 'wife', an obvious error, which was corrected in the later edd.

P. 58. l. 5. **That would be President of the Senate under him.** North has here mistranslated Amyot who has 'qui se voulussent trouver soubz luy president au senat'.

l. 34. Though not an actual quotation, this is a reminiscence of the Homeric phrase *ὑπουράνιον κλέος*. See *Il.* x. 212 and *Od.* ix. 264.

P. 59. l. 27. **Thirty.** In Plutarch 'one hundred and thirty'.

l. 34. **Marish.** Either a dialectal variant of 'marsh' (OE. *mersc*), or from the occasional OF. *maresche*, an analogous form to *marais*. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 'Marish'.

P. 60. ll. 32-3. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 119-28. See note on P. 95. l. 11.

P. 61. l. 18. **Sperage**, i. e. asparagus. Cf. Fr. *asperge* and Ger. *Spargel*. The modern form shows a return to the Lat. *asparagus*, Gk. *ἀσφάραγος*.

ll. 22-3. **He lacked good manner that found fault with his friend.** Plutarch's neat phrase is worth quoting:—*ὁ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγροικίαν ἐξελέγχων αὐτός ἐστιν ἄγροικος*.

l. 32. **Easing.** Contracted form of 'eavesing' (OE. *efesung*), which does not differ in meaning from the cognate word 'eaves'. See *N. E. D.* s. vv.

P. 62. ll. 2-3. **The river of Arar.** The Saône.

P. 63. l. 17 marg. **The wise women of Germany.** Cf. Tacitus,

Germania, c. 8 'Inesse (feminis) sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt.'

l. 31. **Three hundred furlong.** In Plutarch 'four hundred'.

P. 64. l. 28. **Six-score thousand.** In Plutarch 'sixty thousand'.

P. 65. ll. 40–1. **Favonius that followed Cato's steps.** This Favonius was commonly nicknamed *simius Catonis*, 'Cato's monkey.'

P. 66. l. 11. **Ipes and . . . Tenterides.** Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 1, names these tribes *Usipetes* and *Tenchteri*. The former tribe are called *Usipi* in Tacitus, *Ger.* 32. The *Ipes* of the text is due to an old misreading of Plutarch, viz. οὓς Ἴπας instead of Οὐσίπας.

l. 24. **Canutius.** Should be 'Tanusius' as in Plutarch.

P. 67. l. 24. **That so great and famous island.** The patriotic North has 'gone one better' than Amyot, who has 'ceste isle si grande', where Plutarch wrote νῆσον only.

P. 68. l. 2. **Tickle,** i.e. unstable. Cf. Chaucer, *Milleres Tale*, l. 242:—'This world is now ful tikel, sikerly'.

l. 33. **Rampe.rs.** OF. *rampar*, *rempar*. The modern 'rampart' only came into use at the end of the sixteenth century. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 'Rampire.'

P. 69. l. 28. **Towards the sea.** The reading given in the footnote πρὸς τὸν Ἄραριν is undoubtedly correct.

P. 70. l. 4. **Currer.** OF. *coreor* (*coureur*), late L. *curritorem*, is distinct in origin from *courier* (med. L. *currerius*), which means a professional runner or messenger. But in English the two words coalesced in the form 'currer' (sixteenth century) and subsequently 'courier'. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 'Courier'.

l. 33. **Alexia.** Now Alise, in the Cote d'Or.

P. 71. ll. 1–2. **Three-score and ten thousand.** In Plutarch 170,000.

ll. 39–40. **Who only did see that one of them two must needs fall.** North has missed the point here, being misled by Amyot's 'qui seul pouvoit espier, que l'un d'eulx deux donnast en terre', which is at best a clumsy paraphrase of Plutarch's ὃς ἦν ἔφεδρος ἀμφοῖν, 'who was on the watch for them both,' i. e. waiting to step in when one of the combatants was defeated. Crassus' position may best be compared to that of one who has 'drawn a bye' in the semi-final round of a boxing competition.

P. 73. l. 21. **Novum Comum.** Como, called *Novum Comum* after its restoration by Caesar. The younger Pliny was born there.

l. 34. **Paul's Basilick.** This is the famous Basilica Aemilia on the north side of the Forum, the excavation of which was begun in 1900, and is still being carried on. It was founded in 179 B.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, and was rebuilt by Paullus at the expense of Julius Caesar, c. 45 B.C. It was subsequently destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Augustus in 14 B.C. Further restorations are ascribed to the sixth and seventh centuries. It is now seen to have consisted of a long *porticus*, a great hall with a marble pavement, and a row of small chambers used as shops and private dwelling-houses. See Mr. E. Burton Brown's *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1905*, pp. 143–50.

P. 74. ll. 5–6. **For the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him.** North's phrase ignores the emphatic

ὑπούλου of the original, which is a metaphor of a wound only skinned over and festering under the scab. Amyot's 'maulvaises humeurs cachées' comes nearer to the original.

P. 75. l. 11. **Marcellus.** A slip on the part of Amyot. Plutarch wrote 'Lentulus'.

l. 39. **Three thousand.** In Plutarch 'three hundred.'

P. 76. ll. 10-12. **Ariminum (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to when they come out of Gaul).** This rather paradoxical note was inserted by Amyot, who apparently did not know that ancient Gaul extended as far south as Ariminum (Rimini).

P. 77. l. 6. **'A desperate man feareth no danger, come on'.** North's rendering of Amyot's proverb, 'A tout perdre n'y a qu'un coup perilleux, poulsons.' Both translators relegate the Greek proverb (Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος) to the margin.

P. 78. l. 16. **Garboil.** OF. *garbouil*, hubbub, tumult. Cf. Stanyhurst's rendering of 'Arma virumque cano', *Aeneid* i. 5 (1582):—

Now manhood and garboyles I chaunt and martial horrour.

See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 80. ll. 5-6. **Thou shalt speak in the pulpit.** Rather, 'Thou shalt play the demagogue,' δημαγωγήσεις (Plut.).

P. 81. l. 7. **Posideon.** Strictly speaking, the latter half of December and first half of January.

ll. 17-18. **It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away.** So Amyot, 'Il n'est pas le fer de nos armes qui ne soit usé à force de coups,' which is the exact opposite of Plutarch's καὶ σίδηρος ἐξέκαμε πληγαῖς, 'our very armour is worn out with blows.'

P. 82. l. 6. **Anius.** So Amyot for Plutarch's 'Aous.'

P. 83. ll. 29-30. **One of Caesar's pages.** Amyot renders Plutarch's ὑπασπιστής by 'escuyer'.

P. 84. l. 8. **Straighted, i. e. straitened.** In ME. 'strait' (OF. *estreit*, Lat. *strictum*) and 'straight' or 'streit' (OE. *strēht* from *streccan*) were often confused, in spite of their different origins. But both words must be traced to a common Ind.-Ger. root.

l. 30. **That pains.** In this sense 'pains' is frequently construed as a singular. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Pains', 6 b., and cf. the modern phrase 'he took every pains to'.

P. 85. l. 5. **King of Kings.** The common Homeric epithet of Agamemnon is ἄνακ ἀνδρῶν. Plutarch, however, wrote in this passage the prose equivalent βασιλέα βασιλέων.

l. 13. **Tusculum.** Near the modern Frascati.

P. 86. l. 22. **Fetch, i. e. stratagem.** See *N. E. D.* s.v.

l. 32. **Dost thou think.** Both Plutarch and Amyot have the imperative here.

P. 87. l. 37. **As a box on the ear that sets men afire.** North was misled by Amyot's 'soufflet' (bellows), which has the secondary meaning of 'a box on the ear'.

P. 90. ll. 19-23. There is a fine passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The False One*, ii. 1, where Caesar laments the death of Pompey:—

O thou conqueror,
Thou glory of the world once, now the pity
Thou awe of nations, wherefore didst thou fall thus! &c.

P. 90. l. 22. **At one side.** The 1579 and 1595 texts have 'at toe side'. The 1603 text alters to 'aside'. The phrase 'at one side' is so common in North as to justify the emendation in the text.

P. 91. l. 7. **Treen.** A survival of the OE. adj. *trēowen*, wooden.

ll. 10–12. North's figures are confused here. In reality the sum owed by Ptolemy was 17,500,000 drachmae, of which Caesar had remitted the odd 7,500,000. In Amyot the figures are proportionately correct, but he uses 'escus' as equivalent to ten drachmae.

ll. 23–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 6. 68–70, and Beaumont and Fletcher, *The False One*, ii. 3, and iii. 1.

l. 28. **Fardel**, a bundle. The OF. *fardel* is probably derived from the Arabic *fardah*. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

ll. 29–32. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 5 *ad fin.*

P. 92. ll. 17–22. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The False One*, v. 4 :—

> But, got near the sea,
> On which his navy anchor'd, in one hand
> Holding a scroll he had above the waves,
> And in the other grasping fast his sword,
> As it had been a trident forged by Vulcan
> To calm the raging ocean, he made a way,
> As if he had been Neptune.

ll. 28–30. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 6 :—

> Caesarion, whom they call my father's son.

P. 93. l. 4. **Veni, Vidi, Vici.** Inserted by Amyot. Plutarch does not quote the Latin.

P. 94. l. 24. **Pell mell.** OF. *pesle-mesle, pelle-melle.* This appears to be about the first recorded instance of this word in English writers. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 95. l. 11. **The falling sickness**, i. e. epilepsy. Cf. L. *morbus caducus*, and Ger. *fallende Sucht.* See note on P. 60, ll. 32–3.

P. 96. l. 13. **Twenty hundred thousand.** In Plutarch 3,000,000.

l. 24. **To curry favour.** This phrase grew out of the ME. 'to curry favel', i. e. to use insincere flattery for one's own benefit. The metaphor is that of 'stroking down' a person, as if with a curry-comb. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 97. ll. 23–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 1. 35–55. These lines might be read as referring to a triumph over Pompey himself but for the parallel passage in North, which explains the otherwise misleading phrase 'Pompey's blood' in l. 55.

l. 40. **It would be a good mean.** 'It' refers to the phrase 'to be ruled by one man alone', and is really pleonastic. North's meaning is, that under a monarchy the people would have the opportunity to recover from their misfortunes.

P. 98. ll. 31–2. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 32–7 :—

> Cowards die many times before their deaths;
> The valiant never taste of death but once.
> Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
> Seeing that death, a necessary end,
> Will come when it will come.

P. 99. l. 26. **The Persians.** A slip for 'Parthians', as in Amyot and Plutarch.

l. 41. **Seaw**, i. e. drain. Cf. 'sewer'. 'Seaw' or 'sew' is an abbreviated form of the OF. *essuyer*, Lat. *exsucare*. See Prof. Skeat's *Etym. Dict.* s. v. 'Sew'.

P. 100. l. 6. **Harbourough**. ME. *hereberje*, corresponding to an unrecorded OE. *herebeorg*. Cf. ON. *herbergi*. This form of the modern 'harbour' survives in the place-name 'Market Harborough'. See *N. E. D.* s. v.

l. 7. **Arsenals**. Arabic in origin, properly meaning 'workshop', 'factory'. The word is common in various forms to Fr., Ital., Span., Portug. The original meaning is retained in the Span. *arsenal*, but in the other languages it has been narrowed down to 'dock' and 'armoury'. The meaning 'dock', as here, is now obsolete. Coryat (*Crudities*, 216,) invents an ingenious derivation:—'I was at the Arsenall which is so called *quasi ars navalis*, because there is exercised the Art of making tackling and all other necessary things for shipping.' See *N. E. D.* s. v.

P. 101. ll. 26–8. See note on P. 174. ll. 25–7.

ll. 30–4. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 249–59.

l. 41. **The feast Lupercalia**. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 1. 71.

P. 102. ll. 3–13. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 3–9.

ll. 15–27. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 219–49.

ll. 29–32. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 1. 68–73.

ll. 35–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 157–60.

ll. 38–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 289–91.

P. 103. ll. 23–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 3. 140–4.

Cin. O Cassius! if you could
But win the noble Brutus to our party—
Cas. Be you content. Good Cinna, take this paper,
And look you lay it in the praetor's chair,
Where Brutus may but find it.

See *Life of Brutus*, p. 119, ll. 18–28.

l. 29. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 46:—

Brutus, thou sleep'st: awake and see thyself.

ll. 32–4. See *Life of Brutus*, p. 117.

l. 34—P. 104. l. 2. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 191–200:—

Caes. Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.
Ant. Fear him not Caesar, he 's not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman, and well given.
Caes. Would he were fatter! but I fear him not:
Yet if my name were liable to fear,
I do not know the man I should avoid
So soon as that spare Cassius.

P. 104. ll. 2–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 3. 10: 'A tempest dropping fire', and 26 32:—

And yesterday the bird of night did sit,
Even at noon-day, upon the market-place,
Hooting and shrieking. When these prodigies
Do so conjointly meet, let not men say,
'These are their reasons, they are natural;'

For, I believe, they are portentous things
Unto the climate that they point upon.

Also ii. 2. 24–7 :—

Cal. . . . ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.
O Caesar! these things are beyond all use,
And I do fear them.
Caes. What can be avoided
Whose end is purposed by the mighty gods?

Cf. again *Hamlet* i. 1. 113–20 :—

In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets;
As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
Disasters in the sun; and the moist star
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands
Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse.

l. 10. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 3. 24–5 :—

(Women) who swore they saw
Men all in fire walk up and down the streets.

And again ii. 2. 19–23.

ll. 11–14. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 3. 15–18 :—

A common slave—you know him well by sight—
Held up his left hand, which did flame and burn
Like twenty torches join'd; and yet his hand,
Not sensible of fire, remain'd unscorch'd.

ll. 14–16. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 39–40.

ll. 18–21. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 12–24.

ll. 21–5. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 1–2.

Caes. The ides of March are come.
Sooth. Ay, Caesar; but not gone.

ll. 29–35. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 1–3.

l. 39—P. 105. l. 4. Shakespeare has substituted Caesar's statue or the 'pinnacle' of North. Cf. *J. C.* ii. 2. 75–82.

P. 105. ll. 5–7. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 5–6.

ll. 11–15. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 38–56.

ll. 21–32. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 2. 93–9 :—

The senate have concluded
To give this day a crown to mighty Caesar.
If you shall send them word you will not come,
Their minds may change. Besides, it were a mock
Apt to be render'd, for some one to say
'Break up the senate till another time,
When Caesar's wife shall meet with better dreams.'

P. 106. ll. 4–18. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 3, and iii. 1. 3 and 6–8 :—

Art. O Caesar! read mine first; for mine's a suit
That touches Caesar nearer. Read it, great Caesar.
Caes. What touches us ourself shall be last serv'd.

The characteristic departure from the original in the last line quoted is in keeping with Shakespeare's whole delineation of Caesar's character, which is, if anything, more sympathetic than that of North.

ll. 30–1. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 77–8, and *Life of Brutus*, p. 145, l. 29

ll. 36-9. In the *Life of Brutus* this part is played by Trebonius. See *infra*, p. 126, and cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 25-6.

P. 107. ll. 1-8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 27-75, and contrast *Life of Brutus*, p. 126, where Metellus Cimber is called Tullius Cimber. But the Metellus of the text is due to Amyot : Plutarch wrote Τίλλιος.

l. 27. **As a wild beast taken of hunters.** Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 204-10 :—

> Here wast thou bay'd, brave hart;
> Here didst thou fall; and here thy hunters stand,
> Sign'd in thy spoil, and crimson'd in thy leth.
> O world! thou wast the forest to this hart;
> And this, indeed, O world! the heart of thee.
> How like a deer, strucken by many princes,
> Dost thou here lie!

Contrast the passage in Brutus' speech to the conspirators, ii. 1. 171-4 :—

> And, gentle friends,
> Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully;
> Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods,
> Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds.

ll. 33-5. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 77, and iii. 2. 181-91.

ll. 36-8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 115 :—

> That now on Pompey's basis lies along.

And iii. 2. 193-4 :—

> Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell.

l. 37. **Gore-blood.** Cf. Lyly, *Sapho*, iv. 3. 28: 'I was all in a gore bloud.' The compound is now obsolete except in dialectal usage. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 108. l. 1. **Three-and-twenty.** In Shakespeare 'Three-and-thirty'. Cf. *J. C.* v. 1. 53.

ll. 3-7. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 82-3.

ll. 11-13. Contrast Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 96

P. 109. ll. 3-13. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2. 228-64. See also *Life of Brutus*, p. 129.

ll. 16-33. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 3, and *Life of Brutus*, p. 130, where Cinna is described as 'the poet'.

ll. 33-5. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2. 273-4.

l. 39. **Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he.** A mistranslation. Amyot has '(Caesar) ne survescut Pompeius gueres plus de quatre ans', which is a correct rendering of the original. The age of Pompey at his death is not in question at all. For the phrase 'not passing' see *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Passing'.

P. 110. ll. 10-12. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 41-6.

ll. 29-37. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 274-84 :—

> *Bru.* How ill this taper burns! Ha! who comes here?
> I think it is the weakness of mine eyes
> That shapes this monstrous apparition.
> It comes upon me. Art thou any thing?
> Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
> That mak'st my blood cold and my hair to stare?
> Speak to me what thou art.

Ghost. Thy evil spirit, Brutus.
Bru. Why com'st thou?
Ghost. To tell thee thou shalt see me at Philippi.
Bru. Well; then I shall see thee again?
Ghost. Ay, at Philippi.
Bru. Why, I will see thee at Philippi then.

P. 111. ll. 2–3. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 19–20.
ll. 6–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF BRUTUS

P. 112. l. 29. **Brutus.** An obvious slip for 'Ahala', which the context requires.

P. 113. l. 21. **The new nor mean Academy, i. e. the Neo-Platonists**
l. 22. **The old Academy, i. e. the Platonic school.**

P. 114. l. 27. **Garboil.** See note on P. 78. l. 16.

P. 115. l. 17. **Breviary, i. e. epitome; now obsolete in this sense.**
ll. 33–40. Cf. Jonson, *Catiline*, v. 6. 154–61.

P. 116, **footnote.** This is a translation of Amyot's footnote.

P. 117. l. 8. **Polled, i. e. plundered.** The verb meant originally to tax by the poll, hence to plunder by extortion or other means. This development of meaning may have been assisted by the association of the word with 'pill'. Cf. P. 144. l. 8, 'pilled and polled.'

P. 118. ll. 15–17. See note on P. 103. l. 34 seqq.

P. 119. l. 10. **Whirts, i. e. whirring blows.** Cf. Dan. *hvirre*, to whirl. The origin is probably onomatopoeic. The commoner ME. form of this word is 'whirret'. Cf. Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrams* (1577):—

> And in a fume gave Furius
> A whirret on the ear. (Quoted by *Cent. Dict.*)

ll. 18–28. See note on P. 103. ll. 23–8.
ll. 30–1. See note on P. 102. ll. 29–32.
l. 36.—P. 120. l. 6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 3. 153–62.

P. 120. ll. 6–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 32–50.
ll. 16–18. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 88–9.

l. 22. **Tapsters.** The feminine suffix '-ster', which survives as such now only in 'spinster', had by this time already lost its distinctive gender.

l. 24. **The noblest men and best citizens, i. e. Cassius' fellow-conspirators.** Cf. i. 3. 142–7.

ll. 35–7. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 215–16:—

> Caius Ligarius doth bear Caesar hard,
> Who rated him for speaking well of Pompey.

P. 121. ll. 3–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 314–17:—

Bru. O! what a time have you chose out, brave Caius
To wear a kerchief. Would you were not sick.
Lig. I am not sick if Brutus have in hand
Any exploit worthy the name of honour.

l. 7. **Acquaintance.** The 1595 text has 'acquitaunce'. This must be a printer's error, for the two words are altogether distinct, and there is no other recorded instance of such an alternative spelling for 'acquaintance'.

ll. 11–19. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 141–53.

l. 20. **Favonius.** See note on P. 65. l. 40.

P. 122. ll. 4–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 114–40.

ll. 16–24. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 237–56.

l. 29. **Gests,** i. e. *gesta,* actions.

l. 37. **All of a gore-blood.** See note on P. 107. l. 37.

P. 123. ll. 1–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 280–91.

ll. 9–19. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 292–302 :—

I grant I am a woman, but, withal,
A woman that Lord Brutus took to wife ;
I grant I am a woman, but, withal,
A woman well-reputed, Cato's daughter.
Think you I am no stronger than my sex,
Being so father'd and so husbanded ?
Tell me your counsels, I will not disclose 'em.
I have made strong proof of my constancy,
Giving myself a voluntary wound
Here in the thigh : can I bear that with patience
And not my husband's secrets ?

The passage in the *Merch. of Ven.* i. 1. 166–7 :—

Her name is Portia ; nothing undervalued
To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia.

suggests that Shakespeare may have taken the name of Portia for the heroine of that play from North.

ll. 20–4. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 302–6 :—

O ye gods !
Render me worthy of this noble wife.
Hark, hark ! one knocks. Portia, go in awhile ;
And by and by thy bosom shall partake
The secrets of my heart.

P. 124. ll. 28–30. See *Life of Caesar,* p. 105.

l. 39.—P. 125. l. 5. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 13–17 :—

Pop. I wish your enterprise to-day may thrive.
Cas. What enterprise, Popilius ?
Pop. Fare you well.
Bru. What said Popilius Lena ?
Cas. He wish'd to-day our enterprise might thrive.
I fear our purpose is discovered.

P. 125. ll. 7–19. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 4 *passim.*

l. 30.—P. 126. l. 11. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 18–24.

Bru. Look, how he makes to Caesar : mark him.
Cas. Casca, be sudden, for we fear prevention.
Brutus, what shall be done ? If this be known,
Cassius or Caesar never shall turn back,
For I will slay myself.
Bru. Cassius, be constant :
Popilius Lena speaks not of our purposes ;
For, look, he smiles, and Caesar doth not change.

P. 126. l. 17. **Trebonius.** See note on P. 106. ll. 36–9.

ll. 21–8. Cf. *Life of Julius Caesar*, p. 107, ll. 1–8 and note.

l. 36.—P. 127. l. 2. See P. 107. ll. 33–5, and note.

P. 127. ll. 16–26. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 1. 138–46.

l. 39. **Make havoc.** This may possibly have suggested to Shakespeare the phrase in Antony's soliloquy (iii. 1. 254–75):—

> Caesar's spirit . . . shall . . .
> Cry 'Havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war.

The word 'havoc' is of uncertain origin, but is perhaps connected with OF. *havot*, especially in the phrase *crier havot*. It is not unlikely that the English form was influenced by, if not etymologically connected with the OE. *hafoc* = 'hawk', the root of which would appear to be that of the Latin *hab-ēre*.

P. 128. ll. 7–16. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2. 1–11.

l. 12. **Rakehells**, i. e. thorough scoundrels, capable of raking out hell. The word is still in use in Cheshire in the form 'rakell'. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 129. l. 12. **In hugger-mugger**, i. e. in secret. The second element of the word is perhaps the ME. *mokeren*, to conceal. The word is more common in the sixteenth century in the form *hucker-mucker*. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

ll. 22–7. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2. 245–56:—

> Here is the will, and under Caesar's seal.
> To every Roman citizen he gives,
> To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.
> . . . . . .
> Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
> His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
> On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
> And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
> To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.

l. 29—P. 130. l. 8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2 *passim*, and see *Life of Antonius*, pp. 175–6.

P. 130. ll. 8–24. See note on P. 109. ll. 16–33.

P. 131. ll. 28–9. **Curry favour.** See note on P. 96. l. 24.

P. 132. l. 16. **Port-sale.** Literally, a public sale by auction. Cf. North's *Life of Sulla*:—'When Sulla had taken the city of Rome, he made port-sale of the goods of them whom he had put to death.'

ll. 35–7. *Il.* vi. 429–30.

P. 133. ll. 1, 2. *Il.* vi. 491.

l. 38. North omits Plutarch's phrase *ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως*, i. e. 'for no apparent reason', which is preserved by Amyot.

ll. 39, 40. *Il.* xvi. 849.

P. 134. l. 24. **Snew.** This form points to an OE. *snīwan*, with redup. pret. *snēow* and p.p. *snōwen*, which is recorded by Sievers. The common OE. verb was *snīwan*, which dropped out of use in early ME.

l. 29. **Cormorant** = greedy. For this figurative use cf. Sh. *Cor.* i. 1. 127:—'The cormorant belly.'

l. 32. **Snowen.** See note on l. 24 *supra*.

P. 135. l. 14. **Buthrotum.** On the coast of Epirus: the modern Butrinto.

P. 136. l. 16. **Springal.** Derived from 'spring' + *-ol*, a common

OE. suffix. The final 'd' of the alternative form 'springald' is euphonic.

ll. 32–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 1. 1–17. See *Life of Antonius*, pp. 179–80.

ll. 36–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 172–9, where the number of senators put to death is variously stated as 'a hundred', and 'seventy'. See also *Life of Antonius*, P. 180. l. 14, where the number is given as three hundred.

P. 138. l. 5. The elder man. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 31, 56.

ll. 7–8. Marvellous choleric and cruel. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 43–4 :—

> Go show your slaves how choleric you are,
> And make your bondmen tremble.

ll. 14–20. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 73 6.

l. 38—P. 139. l. 3. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 68–72 :—

> This was the noblest Roman of them all;
> All the conspirators save only he
> Did that they did in envy of great Caesar;
> He only, in a general honest thought
> And common good to all, made one of them.

P. 139. ll. 20–32. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 69–84.

P. 140. l. 24. Cranews. An anglicized form of Amyot's 'crenaux', meaning 'embrasures', 'battlements'. The normal English form is 'crenel' or 'crennel'. See *N. E. D.* s. v. Crenel.

P. 140. l. 34. Ramper. See note on P. 68. l. 33.

P. 143. ll. 6–15. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 2.

l. 22—P. 144. l. 2. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 123–37, where Favonius is replaced by 'Poet'.

l. 28. It was no boot to let Favonius, i. e. 'it was of no use to hinder Favonius.' For 'let' cf. the Collect for the Fourth Sunday in Advent :—'We are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us.'

ll. 39–40. *Il.* i. 259. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 130–1 :—

> Love, and be friends, as two such men should be;
> For I have seen more years, I'm sure, than ye.

l. 40. Moe. OE. *mā*. Strictly the comparative of the adverb but confused in late ME. with 'more' (OE. *māra*), which is the comparative of the adjective.

Suchie. Perhaps a survival of the plural inflection, OE. *swylce*.

P. 144. l. 2. Dog. Plutarch has 'Απλόκυνα, literally, 'cynic who wears his cloak single' (instead of double).

ll. 12–17. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 2–3 :—

> You have condemn'd and noted Lucius Pella
> For taking bribes here of the Sardians.

ll. 17–37. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 7–26.

l. 28. Pilled, i. e. plundered. Late Lat. *pilare*, and class. *compilare*. See note on P. 117. l. 8.

P. 145. l. 10. He would read some book. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 251.

ll. 14–23. See P. 110. ll. 29–37 and note.

ll. 23–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 287–303.

ll. 29–36. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 77–9, though Cassius' remark is here addressed to Messala and prompted by the portent of the eagles, for which see p. 146.

P. 146. ll. 17–22. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 80–4:—

Coming from Sardis, on our former ensign
Two mighty eagles fell, and there they perch'd,
Gorging and feeding from our soldiers' hands;
Who to Philippi here consorted us:
This morning are they fled away and gone.

l. 34. **Had not Antonius' aid been,** i. e. had it not been for Antonius' auxiliaries.

P. 147. ll. 39–41. See note on P. 145. ll. 29–36.

P. 148. ll. 37–40. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 73–6:—

Give me thy hand, Messala:
Be thou my witness that against my will,
As Pompey was, am I compell'd to set
Upon one battle all our liberties.

P. 149. l. 5. **Because it was his birthday.** Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 72–3.

ll. 9–16. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 93–100:—

Now, most noble Brutus,
The gods to-day stand friendly, that we may,
Lovers in peace, lead on our days to age!
But since the affairs of men rest still incertain,
Let's reason with the worst that may befall.
If we do lose this battle, then is this
The very last time we shall speak together:
What are you then determined to do?

ll. 18–24. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 101–8:—

Even by the rule of that philosophy
By which I did blame Cato for the death
Which he did give himself; I know not how,
But I do find it cowardly and vile,
For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
The time of life: arming myself with patience,
To stay the providence of some high powers
That govern us below.

ll. 29–31. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 1. 113–14. The reference to a future life in Brutus' speech is a happy invention of North's, due to a mistranslation of Amyot, who wrote:—'Je donnay aux Ides de Mars ma vie à mon païs, pour laquelle j'en vivray une austre libre et glorieuse.' So Plutarch:—*Μαρτίαις εἰδοῖς δοὺς τῇ πατρίδι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἄλλον ἔζησα δι' ἐκείνην ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον.*

P. 150. ll. 16–18. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 2. 1–2.

P. 152. ll. 15–24. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 5–8.

ll. 25–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 1–4.

ll. 29–35. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 9–14.

l. 33. **His sight was very bad.** Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 21:—

My sight was ever thick.

l. 35—P. 153. l. 6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 14–32.

P. 153. ll. 7–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 34–5:—

O coward that I am, to live so long,
To see my best friend ta'en before my face!

ll. 8–17. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 36–50.

ll. 19–26. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 51–90.

ll. 31–3. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 99-101 :—

The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!
It is impossible that ever Rome
Should breed thy fellow.

ll. 33–5. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 104–6 :—

Come therefore, and to Thassos send his body:
His funerals shall not be in our camp,
Lest it discomfort us.

P. 154. l. 19. **The next morning betimes.** In Shakespeare both battles take place on the same day, see *J. C.* v. 3. 109–10. See also *infra* P. 156. l. 35.

P. 157. ll. 16–20. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 16–19.

P. 158. l. 12. **Past three of the clock in the afternoon.** Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 3. 109 :—'Tis three o'clock.'

ll. 40–1. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 4. 3–6.

P. 159. ll. 5–10. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 4. 14–16.

ll. 25–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 4. 21–5 :—

I dare assure thee that no enemy
Shall ever take alive the noble Brutus:
The gods defend him from so great a shame!
When you do find him, or alive or dead,
He will be found like Brutus, like himself.

l. 35—P. 160. l. 1. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 4. 26–9 :—

This is not Brutus, friend; but, I assure you,
A prize no less in worth. Keep this man safe,
Give him all kindness: I had rather have
Such men my friends than enemies.

P. 160. ll. 7–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 1.

ll. 11–12. Eur. *Medea*, 332.

l. 20. **Sallet**, i. e. a helmet. Late Lat. *caelata*, derived from *caelare*, to engrave. The peculiarity of the sallet, which was in regular use in the sixteenth century, was that its surface was rounded in order to make blows glance off. See *Cent. Dict.* s. v.

ll. 30–9. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 2–8, a passage which is hardly intelligible without reference to North.

l. 39—P. 161. l. 3. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 5–12.

P. 161. ll. 3–8. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 25–9 :—

Bru. Good Volumnius,
Thou know'st that we two went to school together;
Even for that our love of old, I prithee,
Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it.
Vol. That's not an office for a friend, my lord.

ll. 9, 10. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 30 :—

Fly, fly, my lord! there is no tarrying here.

ll. 13–22. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 33–8 :—

Countrymen,
My heart doth joy that yet, in all my life,
I found no man but he was true to me.
I shall have glory by this losing day,
More than Octavius and Mark Antony
By this vile conquest shall attain unto.

ll. 20–1. **They being naughty and unjust men, have slain good**

men. Plutarch's neat antithetical phrase cannot be preserved in English, *ὅτι δικαίους ἄνδρας ἄδικοι καὶ κακοὶ χρηστοὺς ἀπολέσαντες.*

ll. 29–32. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 47–51.

ll. 35–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* v. 5. 66–7 :—

Octavius, then take him to follow thee,
That did the latest service to my master.

P. 162. ll. 11–14. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 3. 151–6.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

P. 163. l. 14. Errand. The 1595 text has 'arrant'.

P. 165. l. 1. Made it dainty to, i. e. 'was loth to'. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Dainty', and cf. Sh. *Rom. and Jul.* i. 5. 22–4 :—

. . . which of you all
Will now deny to dance? she that makes dainty, she,
I'll swear, hath corns.

l. 12. Fume, i. e. noxious vapour. Rare in the singular with this meaning.

P. 166. ll. 5–7. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 3. 84 :—

—this Herculean Roman;

and iv. 3. 16 :—

The god Hercules, whom Antony loved.

P. 171. l. 41. Gillots. Probably a diminutive of 'Gill' or 'Jill', a woman's name (cf. 'Jack and Jill'). 'Gillot' is now obsolete, but possibly survives in a syncopated form as 'jilt'. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Gillot' and 'Gill'.

P. 173. ll. 30–2. See P. 103, l. 40, and note.

l. 36—P. 174. l. 20. See P. 101, l. 41—P. 102, l. 27, and notes.

P. 174. ll. 25–7. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* i. 2. 269–70 :—He plucked me ope his doublet and offered them his throat to cut. In the *Life of Caesar* the circumstances under which this incident is described are different. See *supra*, P. 101.

ll. 27–32. Contrast *supra*, P. 102, ll. 28–39, and see notes thereon.

P. 175. ll. 2–6. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* ii. 1. 155–66.

l. 8. Certain of the conspiracy. See P. 106. l. 38 and note

l. 33—P. 176. l. 11. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iii. 2 *passim.*

P. 177. l. 21. Lightning. In Plutarch, a thunderbolt, *κεραυνῷ.*

l. 37—P. 178. l. 5. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 4. 56–61.

P. 178. ll. 16–20. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 4. 61–8 :—

Thou didst drink
The stale of horses and the gilded puddle
Which beasts would cough at; thy palate then did deign
The roughest berry on the rudest hedge;
Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets,
The barks of trees thou browseds't; on the Alps
It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,
Which some did die to look on.

l. 23. Holpen. OE. *holpen*, p.p. of *helpan.* 'Help' is now a weak verb throughout.

P. 179. l. 39. Lucius Caesar, Antony's uncle, is represented in Shakespeare by Publius, Antony's nephew. See *J. C.* iv. 1. ll. 4-5.

l. 41—P. 180. l. 2. Cf. Sh. *J. C.* iv. 1. ll. 2-3.

P. 180. l. 13. And Antonius' wife. So all the early edd. But the 'and' destroys the sense. Antonius' wife was of course Fulvia, not Claudia.

l. 14. Three hundred. See note on P. 136. ll. 36-8.

P. 183. ll. 18-19. *Oed. Tyr.* 4, 5.

P. 184. l. 30. Bourding, i. e. joking, OF. *bourder.*

P. 185. l. 35—P. 186. l. 15. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 199-226:—

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
Burn'd on the water; the poop was beaten gold,
Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
The winds were love-sick with them, the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggar'd all description; she did lie
In her pavilion,—cloth-of-gold of tissue,—
O'er-picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature; on each side her
Stood pretty-dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they undid did.

. . .

Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings; at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers; the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
That yarely frame the office. From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her, and Antony,
Enthron'd i' the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air; which, but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too
And made a gap in nature.

Dryden has imitated this passage in his *All for Love*, Act iii:—

Her Gally down the Silver *Sydnos* row'd,
The Tackling Silk, the Streamers wav'd with Gold,
The gentle Winds were lodg'd in purple Sails;
Her Nymphs, like *Nereids*, round her Couch were plac'd;
Where she, another Sea-born *Venus*, lay.

. . . . . .

Boys, like *Cupids*,
Stood fanning, with their painted Wings, the Winds
That plaid about her Face:

. . . . . .

To soft Flutes
The Silver Oars kept time; and while they plaid,

The Hearing gave new Pleasure to the Sight;
And both to Thought. 'Twas Heav'n, or somewhat more;
For she so charm'd all Hearts that gazing Crowds
Stood panting on the Shore, and wanted Breath
To give their Welcome Voice.

P. 186. ll. 18–22. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 227-32 :—

Upon her landing, Antony sent to her,
Invited her to supper; she replied
It should be better he became her guest,
Which she entreated. Our courteous Antony,
Whom ne'er the word of 'No' woman heard speak,
Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast.

l. 34. Slents, i. e. jests. The verb 'slent' is found also in North. The word is connected with ME. *slenten* = to slide. Cf. Sw. *slinta*. The idea is clearly that of a jest 'glancing off'.

ll. 35–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 3. 62–85.

P. 187. l. 9. Troglodytes, i. e. cave-dwellers; an Ethiopian tribe.

l. 28. Lamprias. In the Folios *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 2, stage direction *ad init.*, the name of 'Lamprius' is inserted as one of the characters entering.

ll. 34–40. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 186–8.

P. 188. l. 18. Amated, i. e. dismayed, cast down. OF. *amater*. Cf. ME. *mat* = dejected, as in Chaucer's *Knightes Tale*, l. 97 :—

Whan he saugh hem so pitous and so mat.

P. 189. ll. 5–11. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 1. 52–4, and i. 4. 19–21.

ll. 19–41. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 5. 15–19.

P. 190. ll. 2–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 2. 96–102.

ll. 7–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 2. 107–11.

ll. 22–3. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 2. 127–8.

ll. 25–31. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 98–106.

l. 40—P. 191. l. 15. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 124–59.

P. 191. ll. 20–4. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* i. 4. 36 55.

ll. 25–8. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 2. 160–70, and ii. 6. 44–6.

ll. 32–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 6. 34–7 :—

You have made me offer
Of Sicily, Sardinia; and I must
Rid all the sea of pirates; then, to send
Measures of wheat to Rome.

l. 36. A certain of wheat, i. e. a fixed quantity. Cf. Chaucer, *Chan. Yem. Tale*, ll. 471-2 :—

Biseching him to lene him a certeyn
Of gold.

ll. 36–7. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 6. 60–1 :—

We'll feast each other ere we part; and let's
Draw lots who shall begin.

P. 192. ll. 1–2. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 7. 134–5.

ll. 6–16. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 7. 20–87.

ll. 26–38. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 3. 15–23 :—

Ant. Say to me,
Whose fortunes shall rise higher, Caesar's or mine?
Sooth. Caesar's.
Therefore, O Antony! stay not by his side;

Thy demon—that's thy spirit which keeps thee,—is
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
Where Caesar's is not; but near him thy angel
Becomes a fear, as being o'erpower'd; therefore
Make space enough between you.

l. 38—P. 193. l. 6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* ii. 3. 32-8:—

Be it art or hap
He hath spoken true; the very dice obey him.
And in our sports my better cunning faints
Under his chance; if we draw lots he speeds,
His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to nought, and his quails ever
Beat mine, inhoop'd, at odds.

P. 193. ll. 26-39. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 1 *passim.*

P. 194. ll. 27-30. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 1. 16-20:—

Caesar and Antony have ever won
More in their officer than person; Sossius,
One of my place in Syria, his lieutenant,
For quick accumulation of renown,
Which he achiev'd by the minute, lost his favour.

l. 41—P. 195. l. 2. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 4 *passim.*

P. 195. ll. 4-17. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 38 to end.

P. 196. l. 28. See note on P. 166. ll. 5-7.

l. 38, marg. **Parthia.** The 1595 text has 'Persia', which is an obvious slip.

P. 199. l. 38. **Moe.** See note on P. 143. l. 40.

P. 203. l. 7. **Fift.** OE. *fīfta.* The modern 'fifth' and 'sixth' have acquired an 'h' on the analogy of 'fourth' and 'seventh'.

P. 207. l. 3. **Cyrus.** The 1595 text has 'Cyprus', a printer's error.

l. 40. **Champion,** i. e. 'level' and 'open', a variant of *champaign,* OF. *champaigne,* L. *campus, Campania* (mod. Campagna). See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Champaign', 'Champian'.

P. 208. l. 20. **Sallets.** See note on P. 160. l. 20.

Murrians, i. e. 'morions'. Span. *morrion.*

P. 209. l. 26. **Sumpters,** i. e. 'baggage animals'. OF. *sommetier* = late Lat. *sagmatarius,* which is derived from the Gk. σάγμα = a pack-saddle. See *Cent. Dict.* s.v.

P. 210. l. 12. **Hurly-burly.** This word came into use early in the sixteenth century. The Fr. *hurlu-burlu* and Ger. *hurliburli* are analogous. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

l. 19. **Come to handy-strokes,** i. e. 'come to blows', or 'hand-to-hand fighting'. The form 'hand-strokes' is more common.

P. 211. l. 18. **Reserved Antonius to end this war.** The 1603 and later edd. read, 'kept Antonius from ending this war,' which improves the sense of the passage, and is nearer to the original. The reading in the text may have been due to a misunderstanding of Amyot's phrase:—'Avoit guardé Antonius de meiner à chef ceste guerre.'

P. 212. l. 4. **Snew.** See note on P. 134, l. 24.

l. 7. **Blancbourg.** Amyot's translation of Plutarch's Λευκὴ κώμη.

P. 215. ll. 1-14. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 1-16:—

Caes. Contemning Rome, he has done all this and more
In Alexandria; here's the manner of 't;

I' the market-place, on a tribunal silver'd,
Cleopatra and himself in chairs of gold
Were publicly enthron'd; at the feet sat
Caesarion, whom they call my father's son,
And all the unlawful issue that their lust
Since then hath made between them. Unto her
He gave the 'stablishment of Egypt; made her
Of Lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia,
Absolute queen.

Mec. This in the public eye?

Caes. I' the common show-place, where they exercise.
His sons he there proclaim'd the kings of kings;
Great Media, Parthia, and Armenia
He gave to Alexander; to Ptolemy he assign'd
Syria, Cilicia, and Phoenicia.

l. 16. **Copped-tank hat.** A high-crowned hat in the shape of a sugar loaf. The origin of the word, which is also found in the forms 'copin-tank' and 'coptank', is obscure. The first element is plainly the English 'cop' (Ger. *Kopf*), but 'tank' remains unexplained. See *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Copin-tank'.

ll. 26–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 16–19:—

She
In the habiliments of the goddess Isis
That day appear'd; and oft before gave audience,
As 'tis reported, so.

l. 33—P. 216. l. 1. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 22–30:—

Caes. The people . . . have now receiv'd
His accusations.

Agr. Whom does he accuse?

Caes. Caesar; and that, having in Sicily
Sextus Pompeius spoil'd, we had not rated him
His part o' the isle: then does he say, he lent me
Some shipping unrestor'd; lastly, he frets
That Lepidus of the triumvirate
Should be depos'd; and, being, that we detain
All his revenue.

l. 39. **Companion and triumvirate.** So all edd.

P. 216. ll. 3–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 32–7:—

I have told him, Lepidus was grown too cruel;
That he his high authority abus'd,
And did deserve his change; for what I have conquer'd,
I grant him part; but then, in his Armenia,
And other of his conquer'd kingdoms, I
Demand the like.

ll. 13–16. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 57–9, where Canidius is put in command of nineteen legions.

P. 218. l. 7. **Sessed, i. e. assessed.** 'Sess' is the correct spelling, but 'cess' is the commoner form, due no doubt to a mistaken association with the Lat. *cessum.*

P. 220. l. 9. **Joys,** Lat. *deliciae.*

ll. 17–21. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 13–15.

ll. 34–5. See note on P. 166. ll. 5–7.

P. 221. l. 1. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 8. 12:—

The Antoniad, the Egyptian admiral.

ll. 2–3. Shakespeare transfers this incident to the sea-fight at Alexandria. Cf. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 10. 16–17.

ll. 11–20. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 6. 68, 76:—

He hath assembled
Bocchus, the King of Libya; Archelaus,
Of Cappadocia; Philadelphos, King
Of Paphlagonia; the Thracian King, Adallas;
King Malchus of Arabia; King of Pont;
Herod of Jewry; Mithridates, King
Of Comagene; Polemon and Amintas,
The Kings of Mede and Lycaonia,
With a more larger list of sceptres.

l. 15. Sadala. The 1595 text has 'Adallas' as in *Ant. and Cleo.*, loc. cit.

ll. 35–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 34–6:—

Your ships are not well mann'd;
Your mariners are muleters, reapers, people
Ingross'd by swift impress.

P. 222. l. 2. They were light of yarage. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 38:—'Their ships are yare.' 'Yare' and 'yarage' are derived from OE. *gearu* = ready.

ll. 10–15. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 30–2:—

Eno. So hath my lord dar'd him to single fight.
Can. Ay, and to wage his battle at Pharsalia,
Where Caesar fought with Pompey.

ll. 18–20. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 20–3 and 54–6.

Footnote. Translated from Amyot.

P. 223. ll. 5, 11. Shakespeare postponed the flight of Domitius Ahenobarbus to the time of the battle of Alexandria. See *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 5–6, and 9 *passim.* But see also note on P. 234, l. 23 *infra.*

P. 224. ll. 4–5. Cf. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 50.

ll. 9–21. Cf. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 7. 61–6:—

Sold. O noble emperor! do not fight by sea;
Trust not to rotten planks: do you misdoubt
This sword and these my wounds? Let the Egyptians
And the Phoenicians go a-ducking; we
Have used to conquer, standing on the earth,
And fighting foot to foot.
Ant. Well, well: away!

P. 225. l. 10. Spurs, i. e. *rostra.*

l. 36. Proes. An alternative form of 'prows'. OF. *proüe*, Lat. *prora*, Gk. πρῷρα.

P. 226. l. 13. Arruntius. Clearly a printer's error for 'Antonius', which has been restored in 1603 and subsequent edd.

ll. 13–17. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 8. 11–14 and 20–5.

ll. 21–33. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 8. 27–33 and 9. 51–61.

P. 227. ll. 18–20. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 9. 25 seqq.

l. 28. Carects. A variant of 'carrack'. OF. *carraque.* The name was specially applied to the Portuguese East Indiamen.

ll. 28–34. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 9. 2–24.

P. 228. ll. 19–21. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 8. 42–4.

l. 28. **Grandfather.** Plutarch has πρόπαππος, i. e. 'great-grandfather'.

P. 229. l. 2. **Both of them orators.** Plutarch does not say so. Aristocrates only was an orator.

P. 230. ll. 4–5. **As appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes' comedies.** This Plato was a dramatist of the 'Old Comedy', who lived towards the end of the fifth century B. C.

ll. 29–35. Cf. Sh. *Tim. of Ath.* v. 1. 210–17 :—

I have a tree that grows here in my close,
That mine own use invites me to cut down,
And shortly must I fell it; tell my friends,
Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree,
From high to low throughout, that whoso please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste,
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,
And hang himself.

ll. 40–1. Shakespeare quotes this couplet in *Tim. of Ath.* v. 4. 70, 1, without alteration, except for the substitution of 'caitiffs' for 'wretches'. This alteration may have been due to a desire to avoid the monotony of four successive syllables with the same vowel sound, or merely to avoid the recurrence of 'wretches'.

P. 231. ll. 4–5. Cf. Sh. *Tim. of Ath.* v. 4. 72–3. Shakespeare combines the two epitaphs.

ll. 10–12. See note on P. 232. ll. 27–41 *infra*.

l. 37—P. 232. l. 1. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 356–7.

P. 232. ll. 23–7. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 9. 71 and iii. 10. 2–10.

ll. 27–41. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 6. 12–16.

P. 233. ll. 2–5. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 10. 19–24 :—

For Antony,
I have no ears to his request. The queen
Of audience nor desire shall fail, so she
From Egypt drive her all-disgraced friend,
Or take his life there; this if she perform,
She shall not sue unheard.

ll. 6–10. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 10. 26–33.

Thyreus. So Amyot for Plutarch's Θύρσος. This alteration, due no doubt to a printer's error in the first instance, was perpetuated by Shakespeare.

ll. 10–12. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 11. 46–98.

ll. 12–14. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 11. 93–104.

ll. 14–21. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 11. 139–52 :—

Get thee back to Caesar,
Tell him thy entertainment; look, thou say
He makes me angry with him; for he seems
Proud and disdainful, harping on what I am,
Not what he knew I was: he makes me angry;
And at this time most easy 'tis to do't,
When my good stars, that were my former guides,
Have empty left their orbs, and shot their fires
Into the abysm of hell. If he mislike
My speech and what is done, tell him he has

Hipparchus, my enfranched bondman, whom
He may at pleasure whip, or hang, or torture,
As he shall like, to quit me: urge it thou:
Hence with thy stripes; be gone!

ll. 23–7. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iii. 11. 184–6. But according to Amyot and Plutarch it was not Cleopatra's but Antony's birthday that was celebrated 'with such solemnity'.

P. 234. ll. 14–22. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 8 *passim.*

l. 23. It was doubtless the defection of this man-at-arms that recalled to Shakespeare the story of Domitius Ahenobarbus' desertion. See note on P. 223. ll. 5–11.

ll. 23–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 1. 3–6 :—

. . . (he) dares me to personal combat,
Caesar to Antony. Let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die; meantime
Laugh at his challenge.

In the original Caesar says that *Antonius* has many other ways to die, πολλὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ παρεῖναι θανάτων. North was doubtless misled by the ambiguity of Amyot's 'qu'il avoit'.

ll. 28–40. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 2. 9 to end, esp. ll. 9–10 :—

Call forth my household servants; let's to-night
Be bounteous at our meal.

ll. 20–8 :—

Well, my good fellows, wait on me to-night,
Scant not my cups, and make as much of me
As when mine empire was your fellow too,
And suffer'd my command.

ll. 24–8 :—

Tend me to-night;
May be it is the period of your duty:
Haply, you shall not see me more; or if,
A mangled shadow: perchance to-morrow
You'll serve another master.

ll. 41–4 :—

Know, my hearts,
I hope well of to-morrow; and will lead you
Where rather I'll expect victorious life
Than death and honour.

l. 40–P. 235. l. 13. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 3 *passim.*

P. 235. ll. 13–27. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 10. 1 43.

ll. 27–31. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 11 *passim.*

ll. 36–40. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 44–5 :—

I will o'ertake thee, Cleopatra, and
Weep for my pardon.

And 57–60 :—

I, that with my sword
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
The courage of a woman.

l. 40—P. 236. l. 6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 62–95.

P. 236. ll. 7–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 95–7 :—

Thrice-nobler than myself!

Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros, what
I should, and thou couldst not.

ll. 9–16. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 101–10.

ll. 16–21. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 113–40.

ll. 21–36. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 13. 9–37.

l. 40. **Berayed**, i. e. 'stained', 'besmeared'. The root of this word is 'ray', aphetic form of 'array'. It must not be confused with 'bewray', with which it has no connexion. See *N. E. D.* s.v.

P. 237. ll. 1–3. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 13. 41–2.

ll. 4–14. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 13. 45–58 :—

One word, sweet queen.
Of Caesar seek your honour with your safety. O!
. . . . . .
None about Caesar trust, but Proculeius.
. . . . . .
The miserable change now at my end
Lament nor sorrow at; but please your thoughts
In feeding them with those my former fortunes
Wherein I liv'd, the greatest prince o' the world,
The noblest; and do now not basely die,
Not cowardly put off my helmet to
My countryman; a Roman by a Roman
Valiantly vanquish'd.

ll. 15–19. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* iv. 12. 111–15.

ll. 19–21. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 1. 4–26.

ll. 23–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 1. 40–8 :—

But yet let me lament,
With tears as sovereign as the blood of hearts,
That thou, my brother, my competitor
In top of all design, my mate in empire,
Friend and companion in the front of war,
The arm of mine own body, and the heart
Where mine his thoughts did kindle, that our stars,
Unreconciliable, should divide
Our equalness to this.

ll. 31–6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 1. 61–8.

l. 39. **Cranews.** See note on P. 140. l. 24.

l. 41—P. 238. l. 3. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 18–28

P. 238. ll. 5–23. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 34–46.

P. 239. l. 25. **Trussed him up**, i. e. crucified him, *ἀνεσταυρώθη*.

l. 38. *Il.* ii. 204.

P. 240. ll. 12–14. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 355–7.

l. 41—P. 241. l. 8. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 137–57.

P. 241. ll. 8–18. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 158 69 :—

O Caesar! what a wounding shame is this,
That thou, vouchsafing here to visit me,
Doing the honour of thy lordliness
To one so meek, that mine own servant should
Parcel the sum of my disgraces by
Addition of his envy. Say, good Caesar,
That I some lady trifles have reserv'd,
Immoment toys, things of such dignity

As we greet modern friends withal; and say,
Some nobler token I have kept apart
For Livia and Octavia, to induce
Their mediation.

ll. 20–4. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 178–88.

ll. 28–31. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 199–201:—

I tell you this: Caesar through Syria
Intends his journey; and within three days
You with your children will he send before.

P. 242. ll. 23–31. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 232–4.

l. 40—P. 243. l. 6. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 321–2, and also 341–4.

P. 243. ll. 6–9. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 327–9:—

First Guard. Charmian, is this well done?
Char. It is well done, and fitting for a princess
Descended of so many royal kings.

ll. 23–30. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 345–55.

ll. 33–7. Cf. Sh. *Ant. and Cleo.* v. 2. 357–67.

ll. 38–9. **Eight-and-thirty.** In Plutarch 'thirty-nine'.

P. 244. l. 2. **A thousand.** In Plutarch 'two thousand'.

l. 40. **Fift.** See note on P. 203. l. 7.

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Oxford : Printed at the Clarendon Press by Horace Hart, M.A.

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